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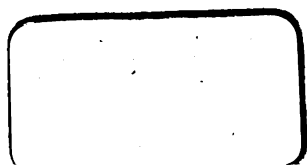
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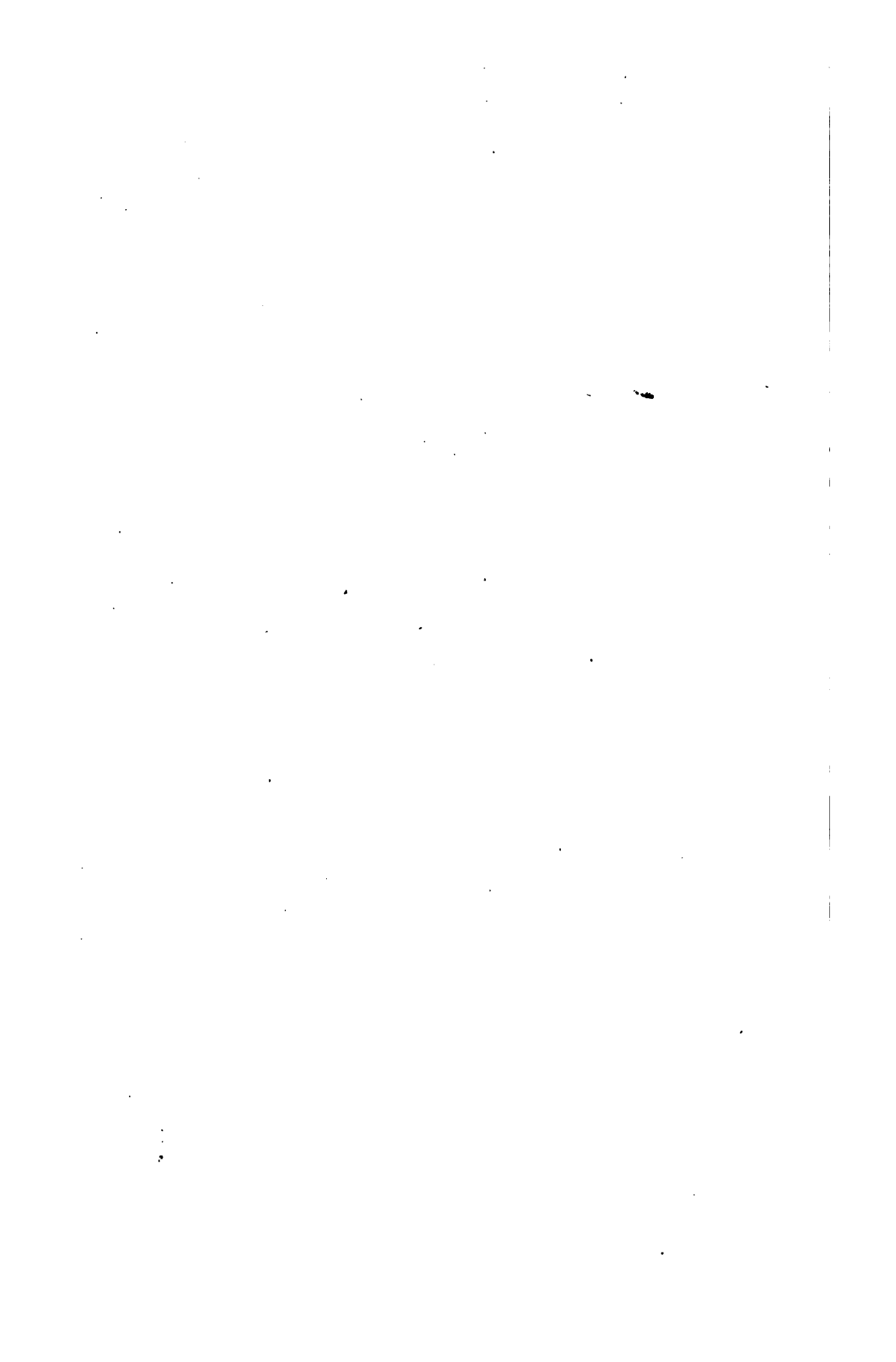
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SIX LECTURES  
ON  
THE HIGHER CRITICISM  
UPON  
THE OLD TESTAMENT,

BY  
W. B. BOYCE,  
*(Wesleyan Minister.)*

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1878.

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### NOTICE TO THE READER.

These Lectures were read in York-street Chapel on sundry Monday evenings from the 10th June to 30th December, 1878: after which they appeared in the *Weekly Advocate*, by which means about 3000 copies were circulated chiefly in the Colony of New South Wales. It is to be hoped this exposition of the theories of the "Higher Criticism," comprising in detail the leading critical speculations on the Old Testament of the most learned scholars of the past and present age, may help to settle the minds of some who have been disturbed by a vague impression of the existence of errors and discrepancies discovered by Continental scholarship, which are absolutely irreconcilable with the cherished traditional belief of the Christian churches. These supposed errors and discrepancies when fully stated no longer terrify. Turning from the extravagant and contradictory assertions of the Sceptical Critics, the thoughtful Christian will gladly recognize as the only sure foundation of all religious trust, the teachings which come backed with the authority of the old formula "*Thus saith the Lord.*"

The friends, to whose kindness the writer is greatly indebted for their readiness to undertake the disagreeable task of reading in public each evening for the space of one hour and a half or more, are the Rev. Dr. Kelynack, the Rev. George Martin, and the Rev. George Woolnough, M.A. To these gentlemen and to the Hon. Sir George Wigram Allen, M.L.C., A. Moffitt, Esq., M.D., the Rev. George Woolnough, M.A., and the Rev. Benjamin Chapman who presided during the delivery of the Lectures, the thanks of the Lecturer are respectfully tendered.

The only apology to be made for the numerous errors of the Press, which require so very lengthened an ERRATA, is that the Lectures were printed before they were read, and that the few copies now privately circulated were re-printed at once from the original strips fresh from the compositors' galleys. The readers had better make the corrections at once, before perusal, otherwise the errors are likely to remain uncorrected, and in some cases the meaning of the writer will be very imperfectly represented.

In conclusion a few words may be permitted on the relation of these Lectures to the Evidences of Revealed Religion. Our fathers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries appealed mainly to what are now called the External Evidences, much in this fashion—"A revelation from Heaven has been received as such by the Patriarchs and Israelitish people, because attested by miracles—the proof of this acceptance, and on these grounds is recorded in a series of books, the genuineness and authenticity of which are received by us on the faith of the testimony given by our Lord and His Apostles to the Jewish Canon, as recorded in the Gospels and Epistles in the New Testament. We receive the New Testament on the unwavering testimony of the Christian Church, conveyed in a series of accumulated proofs which cannot be set aside, except by a mode of reasoning which implies universal scepticism."—So our great writers of that day reasoned; they relied upon the testimony of credible witnesses; and so must we also in this last quarter of the nineteenth century: these Lectures are an attempt to show the importance of testimony in reference to the Critical controversies on the genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

But it may be said, that surely the wider and continually enlarging mental horizon, and the consequent higher standing point of the culture of our day, have changed altogether the position of the controversy. It is obvious, that owing to the more extensive fields opened to investigation, together with the more varied learning and more minute research of the present century, our science, our philosophy, and our literature have already been revolutionized. Why then should we be satisfied with the proofs and evidences accepted by the men of the seventeenth and following century, who were placed in a less favourable position than we are for the thorough enquiry which the subject demands? Admitting the truth in these remarks, so far as they apply to the metaphysical and philosophical reasonings of the apologists of that period, and to much of its criticism, we still object to their relevancy in reference to well attested *facts*: these can only be affected by a disproof of the testimony on which they rest. There have been and yet may be many defences, reasons and arguments put forth in proof of Revelation, which may not stand the test of

criticism; but the great *facts*, the historical basis of revealed religion remain unaffected, especially that *one fact*, which stands alone, the greatest of all facts, the perfect character of Jesus Christ. Sceptics must disprove the record of the life, character, death and resurrection of Christ; short of this, all their arguments carry no conviction to the believers in Christianity.

We admit that this historical evidence represents no more than the highest degree of probability, which we term a moral certainty: and that this is not exactly equivalent to the absolute proof afforded by mathematical demonstration. But as this species of proof is confined to the sphere of pure mathematics, and as on all other subjects mankind are satisfied to take probability as "the very guide of life," we must acquiesce in the only proof of which *the facts* of revelation are susceptible. To ask for more is unreasonable. The evidences are sufficient for all who sincerely desire to combat unbelief, but there is full scope for the cavils of those who have no wish to believe, or who cultivate doubt as an intellectual grace or as a necessary result of a scientific research. This class would not be "*persuaded though one rose from the dead.*" (Luke xvi. 31.) They would regard a miracle as simply a new aspect of nature. To this class of doubters, we may use the remonstrance addressed by Zophar more than 3000 years ago: "*Canst thou by searching find out God.*" (Job xi. 7.) This knowledge is not the reward of research, for it does not admit of scientific proof. It is the revelation of a Spiritual fact, which at once commends itself to the Spiritual nature of man which is desirous of discovering not a philosophical abstraction, but of realising a *personal God*. These spiritual yearnings are graphically expressed in the language of the Psalmist, "*My soul thirsteth for God, for the LIVING God. My heart and my flesh crieth out for the LIVING God.*" (Psalms 52 & 84.) No question affecting man's faith and duty as a spiritual, rational and moral agent can be settled by an infallible logic. It is determined mainly by the ruling sympathies. The decision is with the *will*, the responsible *will*. No sincere enquirer is left without Divine help. Our Saviour gives us the law of this Spiritual administration.—"*If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.*" (John vii. 17.)



# ERRATA.

## LECTURE I.

Page	1	line	4, for <i>Testament</i> read <i>Testaments</i> .
"	"	"	the last, leave out <i>which though</i> .
2	"	"	1, place <i>which</i> before <i>imply</i> .
3	"	"	29, for <i>whence</i> read <i>when</i> .
4	"	"	21, for <i>add</i> read <i>added</i> .
"	"	"	29, for <i>close of first</i> read <i>close of the first</i> .
5	"	"	19, for <i>might consider</i> read <i>might have considered</i> .
"	"	"	21, for <i>independent</i> read <i>independently</i> .
7	"	"	7, leave out <i>which no one can deny</i> .
"	"	"	20, for <i>or</i> read <i>nor</i> .
8	"	"	8, for <i>the most</i> read <i>some</i> .
9	"	"	22, for <i>comment</i> read <i>commentary</i> .
"	"	"	36, for <i>for B. C. 364.</i> read <i>from B. C. 364.</i>
10	"	"	7, for <i>Jewett</i> read <i>Jowett</i> .
"	"	"	11, for <i>argument pronounced</i> read <i>arguments produced</i> .
"	"	"	36, for <i>notice such</i> read <i>notice such or such</i> .
11	"	"	6, for <i>referred</i> read <i>referred</i> .
"	"	"	7, for <i>Law of Plato</i> read <i>Laws of Plato</i> .
"	"	"	10, for <i>arises</i> read <i>arising</i> .
"	"	"	36, for <i>Phoenecian</i> read <i>Phoenician</i> .
"	"	"	37, for <i>Olympic</i> read <i>Olympiad</i> .
"	"	"	37, for <i>Gesenius</i> read <i>Gesenius</i> .
"	"	"	38, for <i>Kopp</i> read <i>Koppe</i> .
12	"	"	1, for <i>Wolff</i> read <i>Wolf</i> .
13	"	"	9, for <i>Colenso</i> read <i>Colenso</i> .
"	"	"	11, for <i>similiar</i> read <i>similar</i> .
"	"	"	16, for <i>Conservatism</i> read <i>Conservatism</i> .
"	"	"	30, for <i>Septuagist</i> (twice) read <i>Septuagint</i> .
14	"	"	3, for <i>B. W. Westcott</i> read <i>B. F. Westcott</i> .
15	"	"	34, for <i>5 which</i> read <i>5 of which</i> .
16	"	"	4, for <i>page or two</i> read <i>page or so</i> .
"	"	"	4, for <i>connecting by</i> read <i>connecting the two by</i> .
17	"	"	31, for <i>order to this</i> read <i>order to effect this</i> .
"	"	"	34, after <i>as one</i> , add <i>so also Jeremiah and the Lamentations</i> .
19	"	"	11, for <i>occasion be</i> read <i>occasion arise be</i> .
"	"	"	12, for <i>give</i> read <i>gives</i> .
"	"	"	24, for <i>424 B. B.</i> read <i>425 B. C.</i>
20	"	"	30, for <i>being not</i> read <i>not being</i> .
"	"	"	31, for <i>not considered</i> read <i>not being considered</i> .
21	"	"	4, for <i>in the</i> read <i>on the</i> .
"	"	"	6, for <i>place</i> read <i>insertion</i> .
"	"	"	27, for <i>glossary of</i> read <i>gloss on</i> .
22	"	"	6, for <i>or</i> read <i>on</i> .
23	"	"	13, for <i>Theodosian</i> read <i>Theodotion</i> .
"	"	"	23, for <i>and many</i> read <i>but many</i> .
24	"	"	19, for <i>have</i> read <i>has</i> .



- Page 25 line 30, for *Kennecott* read *Kennicott*.  
 " " 38, for *Samartan* read *Samaritan*.  
 26 " 11, for *so far neutralize* read *go far to neutralize*.  
 27 " 9, for *Phænoia* read *Phœnicia*.  
 " " 4 & 13, for *Wolff* read *Wolf*.  
 " " 14, for *Wolfian* read *Wolflan*.  
 " " 27, for *not permitted* read *not being permitted*.  
 " " 28, for *bear witness* read *give witness*.  
 " " 33, for *practiced* read *practised*.  
 " " 38, for *M. S. S.* read *M. S.*  
 28 " 12, for *Israelites* read *Israelitish*.  
 29 " 8, for *Acts and Epistles* read *the Acts and the Epistles*.  
 " " 14, for *the following* read *the one following*.

## LECTURE II.

- 2 " 11, for *their results in practies* read *their practical results*.  
 3 " 3, for *a full and rather* read *a full but rather*.  
 " " 10, for *Philip IV. 22* read *Philip IV. 22*.  
 " " 18, for *opinion* read *opinions*.  
 4 " 22, for *Dioclesian* read *Diocletian*.  
 " " 27, for *Heathen* read *Heathens*.  
 " " 28, for *Justin Martyn* read *Justin Martyr*.  
 5 " 22, for *comprise* read *comprises*.  
 6 " 26, for *combattants* read *combatants*.  
 7 " 16, for *Laureat* read *Laureate*.  
 " " 17, for *Tennison* read *Tennyson*.  
 " " 20, for *now* read *more*.  
 8 " 1, for *in that century* read *in that*.  
 " " 37, for *Portuguese* read *Portugueses*.  
 9 " 3, for *Colombus* read *Columbus*.  
 " " 32, for *diphthong* read *diphthong*.  
 10 " 23, for *we hear of* read *we hear*.  
 11 " 33, for *John Locke* read *John Locke wrote*.  
 14 " 5, for *and which* read *which*.  
 15 " 9, for *Bolingbrook* read *Bolingbroke*.  
 " " 13, for *Soncaniathon* read *Sanchuniathon*.  
 16 " 3, for *rythm* read *rhythm*.  
 " " 16, for *controversialist* read *controversialist*.  
 19 " 8, *leave out Bull*.  
 " " 10, for *Clapman* read *Clapham*.  
 20 " 20, for *Kalish* read *Kalisch*.  
 " " 21, for *Gregg* read *Greg*.  
 " " 21, for *the Essays* read *the authors of the Essays*.  
 " " 21, for *Colenso* read *Olenso*.  
 21 " 17, for *Villified* read *vilified*.  
 23 " 15, for *Montesquieu* read *Montesquien*.  
 24 " 22, for *pediasts* read *pædists*.  
 " " 33, for *Mours* read *Mours*.  
 25 " 8, for *Smollet* read *Smollett*.  
 26 " 2, for *Encyclopeida* read *Encyclopædia*.  
 " " 6, for *oft* read *often*.  
 30 " 25, for *Calderwood* read *Calderwood*.  
 31 " 11 and 37, for *Whateley's* read *Whately's*.

- Page 32 line 9, for *Caution* read *Cautions*.  
 " " 30, add also *Mahaffy's Commentary on Kant*.  
 33 " 11 and 12, for *idolisation* read *idolising*.  
 34 " 1 and 2, for *Wolff-Wolffian* read *Wolf-Wolfian*.  
 " " 18, for *spiccy* read *spicy*.  
 " " 20, for *Tyndale* read *Tyndall*.  
 " " 37, for *Eichorn* read *Eichhorn*.  
 35 " 25, for *principle* read *principles*.  
 " " 38, for *Colenzo* read *Colenso*.  
 36 " 11, for *Argyle* read *Argyll*.

### LECTURE III.

- 1 " the bottom one, *Villified* read *villified*.  
 2 " 18, for *reconcilable* read *reconcilable*.  
 4 " 1, for *Ptolomæus* read *Ptolemaeus*.  
 4 " 18, for *Hebræorum* read *Hebræorum*.  
 5 " 8, for *Eichorn* read *Eichhorn*.  
 6 " 13, for *Suppose* read *Supposed*.  
 6 " 1, for *Stählein* read *Stähelin*.  
 " " 12, for *Gessenius* read *Gesenius*.  
 " " 13, for *Doederlin* read *Doederlin*.  
 " " 20, for *Sampson* read *Samson*.  
 7 " 22, for *Writers* read *Writers*.  
 8 " 22, for *Bishoprick* read *Bishopric*.  
 " " 36, for *that is say* read *that is to say*.  
 9 " 1, for *Eichorn* read *Eichhorn*.  
 10 " 33, for *Gessenius* read *Gesenius*.  
 11 " 20, for *Kalish* read *Kalisch*.  
 12 " 2, for *Eleazar* read *Eleazar*.  
 " " 3 and 5, for *Detelzsch* read *Delitzsch*.  
 " " 12, for *Mark x. 29* read *Mark ix. 29*.  
 13 " 19, for *And when after* read *And from*.  
 17 " 28, for *by taking the manhood* read *by taking of the manhood*.  
 " " 34, for *valid* read *varied*.  
 18 " 36, for *prophecy* read *prophecy*.  
 19 " 1, for *prophecy* read *prophecy*.  
 " " 11, for *forgone* read *foregone*.  
 " " 19, for *Elohim* read *Elohim*.  
 20 " 9, for *Shaddi* read *Shaddai*.  
 22 " 10, for *are found* read *is found*.  
 " " 12, add after *two writers*, the words *may be distinguished*.  
 " " 26, for *Heng* read *Heng*.  
 23 " 30, for *close* read *closely*.  
 " " 37, for *Davidson's from* read *Davidson's work from*.  
 " " 38, for *then* read *those*.  
 24 " 17, for *yet by* read *yet this book by*.  
 " " 18, for *Elohist would* read *Elohistic and Jehovistic they would*.  
 " " 20, for *after vivisection* read *or*.  
 25 " 11, for *prevades* read *pervades*.  
 26 " 32, for *of texts* read *of the*.  
 27 " 5, for *divorce tolerated* read *divorce was tolerated*.  
 " " 7, for *we have* read *we have it*.  
 " " 28, for *and that* read *and he thinks that*.

Page 28	line 8, for <i>in charge by</i> read <i>in charge and by</i> .
"	" 28, for <i>Chapter 31</i> read <i>Chapter XXXI</i> .
30	" 28, for <i>prophecies</i> read <i>prophecies</i> .
"	" 29 and 30, for <i>addition and alteration</i> read <i>additions and alterations</i> .
31	" 16, for <i>testimony</i> read <i>testimonies</i> .
"	" 30, for <i>on alleged</i> read <i>on the ground of alleged</i> .
32	" 11, for <i>they have</i> read <i>there is</i> .
33	" 5, for <i>Valke</i> read <i>Vatke</i> .
"	" 8, for <i>latter period</i> read <i>later period</i> .
"	" 23, for <i>Schult</i> read <i>Schultz</i> .
"	" 24, for <i>men as undoubtedly</i> read <i>men undoubtedly</i> .
"	" 30, for <i>Kalish</i> read <i>Kalisch</i> .
"	" 32, for <i>Stählein</i> read <i>Stähelin</i> .
34	" 4, for <i>concurrent</i> read <i>considered</i> .
"	" 6, for <i>fact</i> read <i>facts</i> .
"	" 24, for <i>difference</i> read <i>differences</i> .
"	" 36, for <i>fullness</i> read <i>fulness</i> .
35	" 1, for <i>no</i> read <i>there is no</i> .
"	" 30, leave out <i>who</i> .
"	" 31, for 13 read 1 to 3.
36	" 1, for <i>this</i> read <i>these</i> .
"	" 10, for <i>irreconcilable</i> read <i>irreconcilable</i> .
"	" 11, for <i>record</i> read <i>review</i> .
"	" 15, for <i>and ritual</i> read <i>and much of the ritual</i> .
"	" 28, for <i>when</i> read <i>where</i> .
37	" 1, leave out <i>but</i> .
"	" 19, for <i>as assumed</i> read <i>to be assumed</i> .
38	" 5, for <i>denunciation</i> read <i>denunciations</i> .
"	" 19, for <i>inreconcilable</i> read <i>irreconcilable</i> .
39	" 16, for <i>Speaker's Bible</i> read <i>Speaker's Commentary</i> .
"	" 15, for <i>Bishop Brown</i> read <i>Bishop Harold Browne</i> .
"	" 20, for <i>Dictionary</i> read <i>Dictionaries</i> .

#### LECTURE IV.

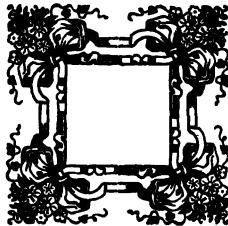
1	" 28, for <i>views</i> read <i>conviction</i> .
11	" 15, for <i>patent</i> read <i>patient</i> .
"	" 24, for <i>in Assria</i> read <i>on Assyria</i> .
12	" 7, for <i>Biblical origin</i> read <i>Biblical account of the origin</i> .
13	" 19, for <i>destiny</i> read <i>degeneracy</i> .
14	" 34, for <i>Lenomant's</i> read <i>Lenormant's</i> .
17	" 18, for <i>power of freshness</i> read <i>power and freshness</i> .
"	" 24, for <i>Exodus of</i> read <i>Exodus and of</i> .
18	" 29, for <i>Tribe</i> read <i>Tribes</i> .
19	" 11, for <i>Arum</i> read <i>Arnon</i> .
"	" 12, for <i>Peninsular</i> read <i>Peninsula</i> .
20	" 34, for <i>received in</i> read <i>recorded in</i> .
23	" 23, for <i>then human</i> read <i>real human</i> .
25	" 25, for <i>uniforamation</i> read <i>uniformitarian</i> .
26	" 14, for <i>Argyle</i> read <i>Argyll</i> .

## LECTURE V.

Page	3	line	2, for <i>Eleazer</i> read <i>Eleazar</i> .
	4	"	2, for <i>Staklein</i> read <i>Stähelin</i> .
	11	"	15, for <i>Zachariah</i> read <i>Zechariah</i> .
	"	"	37, for <i>chapter xii. 17</i> read <i>chapter xii. 27</i> .
	18	"	38, for <i>Zachariah</i> read <i>Zechariah</i> .
	19	"	28, for <i>Zachariah</i> read <i>Zechariah</i> .

## LECTURE VI.

4	"	11, for <i>preferred</i> read <i>prefixed</i> .
"	"	28, for <i>refutation</i> read <i>refutation</i> .
5	"	32, for <i>Stähelein</i> read <i>Stähelin</i> .
6	"	33, for <i>Beckhans</i> read <i>Beckhaus</i> .
7	"	4, for <i>ditto</i> read <i>ditto</i> .
8	"	19, for <i>ditto</i> read <i>ditto</i> .
16	"	36, for <i>Hystarpes</i> read <i>Hystaspes</i> .
"	"	33, for <i>Zerubbabek</i> read <i>Zerubbabel</i> .
27	"	18, for <i>Stendel</i> read <i>Steudel</i> .
35	"	28, for <i>extracts</i> read <i>extract</i> .





## LECTURE I.

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The present is Introductory to a series of Lectures "On the Higher Criticism of the 18th and 19th Centuries, viewed in relation to the question of the genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament."

1. The utility of the study of Biblical Criticism cannot be denied. Most educated Christians desire to be able to form an independent judgment on the character of the documents identified with their Religious beliefs. At this time the general complaint of the spread of Scepticism, and of its introduction into our popular literature, is not to be met merely by unavailing regrets, but by the spread of sound views founded on an accurate knowledge of the Bible and of its credentials. There are many valuable treatises bearing upon the question of the authority and claims of the Sacred Scriptures, but these from their necessarily argumentative character are not adapted to popular use. A lecture which may be listened to or read when reported in a journal, may possibly attract the attention of those who wish to have some notion of the matters discussed in this important controversy. It is painful to know that in the third quarter of the 19th Century there should be any such controversy needed, but while the young, even those of our most respectable families are found but very imperfectly acquainted with the history of the Bible, we need not ask for the cause. It may, however, be desirable to remark once for all, at the outset, that the question of the authority of the Scriptures, is only one of the points, though a very important one, at issue between the Sceptic and the Believer of the 19th Century. The Sceptical advocates meet us with what seem to be new theories, but which turn out to be "old foes with new faces." Science which can see no design in Nature—and knows no intelligent first cause. Materialism which ignores mind and moral responsibility. Pantheism and Atheism, (which though

theoretically different but morally identified) imply the notion of man's unaccountability. Mental Philosophy founded on sensualistic principles, practically denying Mind. On all these old battle fields Christian learning has so far been able for 18 Centuries past to hold its own. The bulk even of educated Christians have neither the time nor the taste for such studies; but happily the main question, the authority of the Bible, is one of much less difficulty to master—and the settlement of this practically settles all the others. If we have a revelation from God, it is decisive: all difficulties raised by Science of whatever character, must then be dealt with as arising out of the present imperfection of our knowledge, which time will help to remove. The two-fold Revelation of God, in His word, and in His works, cannot really differ; and our inability at present to harmonize our theories respecting them does not justify the vulgar notion of a necessary conflict between science and religion. The antagonism which now exists is the result of the partial ignorance of both theologians and philosophers; and hence the rise of an intolerant dogmatism alike discreditable to both parties.

2. The constant appeal to the Book, in the ever recurring formula *it is written* links Revelation to Learning. Christian ideas have thus become inextricably entwined in the Literature of the Civilised World, and have been the permanently active forces in the mental advancement of Christian Nations. Lessings well-known conviction of "a Divine plan in the education of the world" is confirmed by the tenor of Revelation and by the facts of History. The Christian Church in its institutions and its teaching has been the School-master—in some respects an imperfect one. Its class book has been the Bible, sometimes taught only partially or by piece meal, but still efficient in proportion as its truths were enforced. The Bible is the gradual unfolding to us (as we can bear it) of the mind of God in his relations with man: this subject is in its nature inexhaustible, our conceptions widening and becoming deeper in the progress of the ages: the difficulties inherent in the moral problem involved increasing with the invigoration of our faculties, and with the enlargement of our mental horizon: thus stimulating, without either exhausting or satiating reverential enquiry: hence its value as an Educational influence of

the highest character. The normal condition of a finite being in time and eternity is but *to know in part* (1 Cor. xiii. 9). Let our knowing and our capacity for knowing enlarge far beyond our present conceptions—the distance between our finite mind and the infinite will remain unaltered : the whole plan, the thought of God cannot be fathomed by us : Every new discovery, will yet bring out the confession, *Lo these are parts of His ways, but how little a whisper is heard of Him.* (Job xxvi. 14.)

3. In these enquiries two things are essential, Reverence and Sincerity. We are on holy ground : It becomes us to check idle and presumptuous speculation. We are scholars not teachers, and our motto should be, *Speak Lord for thy servant heareth.* (1 Sam. iii. 9.) There must be a willingness to sacrifice all our prejudices, what Lord Bacon calls “idols” of the mind in the pursuit of truth. This state of feeling is beautifully expressed by that venerable Congregationalist Divine, John Goodwin—Arminian in Theology and Republican in politics, in fact, a sort of Ishmael in his day. The quotation is from the Introduction to his “*Imputatio Fidei*” (small 4to 1642). “Since God engaged me in these and some other controversies, and the opposition of man grew strong and thick upon me, I have bestowed some time and thought to find out and possess myself thoroughly of such considerations, which might make me willing, yea and more than willing (if it might be) rejoicingly willing, to embrace such opportunities, wherein I may exchange error for truth. And if God hath not given me darkness for a vision herein, I apprehend a marvellous bewtie, benefit and blessing in such a frame of spirit, which makes a man able, and willing and joyful, to cast away even long endeared or professed opinions, whence once the light hath shone upon them, and discovered them to be but darkness. I look upon ignorance and error, and all misprision in the things of God, and of the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ, as that region in the soul, wherein only doleful creatures, as Owles and Satyrs, and Dragons, I mean fears and terrors, and distractions; spiritual tumults, and storms and tempests are engendered, and begotten. If all were light and truth in the judgment, all would be peace and sweetness and joy in the heart and soul. Therefore to me it is no more grievous to abandon any opinion whatsoever, being



once clearly detected and substantially evicted for an error, then it is to be delivered out of the hand of an enemy, or to take hold of life and peace. But on the other hand it argues childishness in understanding, and a bundle of weakness and folly bound up in the heart, to be baffled out of a man's judgment with every light and loose pretence." In these sentiments we shall all concur; bearing with the quaint ruggedness and complexity of his language for the sake of the lesson it conveys.

4. Our task is to take into consideration the results of Criticism applied to the investigation of the genuineness and authenticity of the Books of the Old and New Testament, and hence called Biblical Criticism to distinguish it from the Criticism which concerns itself mainly with the general literature of the day. Biblical Criticism investigates questions of the Authorship. Antiquity, language, style, and all other matters pertaining to the literature of the Books which form the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Hence Philological researches into the Grammatical and lexicographical peculiarities of the Hebrew, Chaldean, and cognate languages, as well as of the Greek language, especially in its Hellenistic dialect, form no small part of the labour of the Biblical Scholar; add to which a considerable acquaintance with the History, Archæology, Literature, and Philosophy of the nations of Antiquity is equally necessary. The object of this criticism is not merely the gratification of a rational curiosity, it is one of the highest importance, being nothing less than the character of the Documentary sources and consequently to a large extent the Documentary Evidences of Revealed Religion. They are found in a series of books written as generally supposed between 1500 B.C. to within the close of first century of our Era—A literature of 16 Centuries at least. Are they what they profess to be? This is the point at issue between the Church and the Critical Schools. It is well known that for many years past, a large number of learned men on the Continent and in our own Country have arrived at conclusions respecting the antiquity and authority of the Books of the Old and New Testament directly opposed to those almost universally received by the Scholars of the Christian Church, and by individual Christians up to a comparatively recent period. These novel opinions have

originated for the most part, in the application of what is some what proudly called "The Higher Criticism" of the Rationalistic, Neological, or New School, which differs materially in some of its principles of investigation from the Orthodox, Evidential, Old School of Biblical Criticism. These two Schools divide the allegiance of the Biblical Scholars of the age. To avoid the use of terms which imply a foregone conclusion, we shall not employ what Jeremy Bentham calls Eulogistic or Dislogistic expressions, but those which he aptly calls Neutrologistic, naming the one the Old, the other the New School.

5. Let it be clearly understood that the truth or otherwise of Christian Theology is not affected by any results of Biblical Criticism. The Revelation of God's relations to man remains, though our view of the nature of the documents through which these truths were conveyed to us may be modified. These verities were revealed to man and current among mankind ages before a verse of the Bible was written. They are self evidencing to the conscience, through what Leibnitz the grand old German of two centuries ago might consider to be "a pre-established harmony"—just as mathematical truths once received by the intellect are held independent of the authority of Euclid. Nor would the historic basis of Revealed religion be affected—take for instance the facts contained in Genesis and portions of Exodus which are obviously derived from older documents; and even the details of contemporary events in Egypt and the Desert, which if attributable in their present shape to Samuel or some other writer at a still later period, as asserted by the wildest sceptical critics, are admitted by all the critics to be compiled from contemporary records. No critical results can touch the great foundational truth the Divine Sympathy with man, to which the moral constitution of our nature responds. Hence there is no room in Biblical Criticism for what is called the Odium Theologicum, whatever the decisions of that Criticism may be.

6. The main authorities to which Biblical Criticism refers for the elucidation of the Old Testament are (1) the Hebrew Bible with its Chaldean fragments. (2) The Greek Version called the Septuagint, made in Egypt from B.C. 280 to 250. (3) The writings of certain Hellenistic Jews called in their collected form the

Apocrypha, with the works of Philo Judæus, and Josephus (all in Greek). (4) The old Syriac Version of the Bible (called Peshito) made in the 1st or 2nd Century after Christ. (5) Fragments of the Greek version of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus of the 2nd Century. (6) Fragments of the Hexapla of Origen that learned Ante Nicene father with whom the Biblical Criticism of the Christian Church may be said to commence 226 A.D. (7) The old Italic Version of the Old Testament in the 2nd Century. (8) The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Samaritan Version, the latter in the 2nd Century. (9) The Latin Vulgate made by St. Jerome in the 4th Century. (10) The Jewish Targums which are paraphrases of the Old Testament in Chaldee and Syriac, and the long list of Jewish Scholars from the Christian Era to within more recent times, which may be found in the "Jerusalem and Tiberias" by J. W. Etheridge (12mo. 1856 Longman). Add to these the results of the Scholarship of the 16th and 17th Century in the Antwerp, Complutensian, Parisian and English Polyglotts, the *Critici Sacri*, and the writings of the Buxtorfs and others: these are specimens of the learning of an erudite and laborious class of scholars who had to make their own Grammars and lexicons, and who had none of the innumerable and invaluable helps which the learned of our day possess. These sources of information, as well as all other secondary contributions from the Biblical Scholars of modern times are of course available to all, and the common property of both the Old and New Schools of Biblical Critics.

7. Some notice of the peculiarities of the two Schools of Biblical Criticism may be useful. The Old School represents the reverential Orthodoxy of the Old Scholars and Divines. It depends mainly upon Historical Testimony as the only direct and consequently, conclusive and decisive evidence. What is known as Internal Evidence, the impression conveyed by the Document itself under consideration, from its style, contents, &c., is deemed subsidiary to direct evidence, and rarely if ever to be placed in opposition to Historical Testimony. Its leading characteristic is confidence in Human Testimony as the surest and most reliable of all evidence as to matters of fact. It is needless to state that our Lardner's Paleys and Whatelys are of this School, and their writings the

dread of all sciolistic sceptics remain impregnable barriers against the otherwise overwhelming flood of literary scepticism. The New School is generally termed Rationalistic, from its tendency to rely upon human reason even in cases beyond its possible jurisdiction. Neologistic is another appellation, which is merely the Greek of the English term, "the new teaching," as opposed to the Old School, which no one can deny. It is also called Sceptical on account of its tendency to excite and foster doubt. In the opposition made by this school to the generally received opinions of the Churches on the literary character, antiquity, &c., of some portion of the Old Testament especially, sometimes on reasonable grounds, and sometimes recklessly and unreasonably, the minds of many Christian people have been unsettled, and tempted to make shipwreck of faith in the Scriptures as the oracles of God. Much as this is to be lamented, we cannot blame the New School of Criticism for evils incidentally arising out of that free and full discussion of opinions which is essential to the life and power of Christianity. When the generality of private Christians are well informed as to the grounds and foundation of their faith, they will neither be disturbed or shaken by all the criticism and speculations of the learned representatives of the various Schools of Thought. Most of the Critics of the New School are firm believers in Christianity and must not be compared with a small class which denies the possibility of the Supernatural, and consequently the reality of any revelation from God to man; or with those who assume a pantheistic or atheistic position: these are outside the pale of Criticism as applied to the Bible: They are the Destructive School very unfairly confounded with the New School, which in common with the Old, makes use of the authorities already referred to, but which places its main reliance upon Internal Evidence to an extent which practically ignores external testimony. This subjectivity is the weak point of the New School. It rests the result of enquiry too much upon the consciousness of the individual critic, relying thus upon an arbitrary judgment apart from the evidence of facts. The jury and the witnesses are secondary to the Judge. Hence the term, "the Higher Criticism," assumed by the more advanced disciples as the characteristic of the New School. It certainly

may claim the title, for it assumes on the part of certain Critics the possession of an intuitive power of perception and discrimination the possibility of which is with reason denied by the common sense and learning of the majority of the educated classes of Christendom. As the character of this Higher Criticism is one of no small importance to the true understanding of its relation to the controversies of our age, I must call your attention to the opinions of the most eminent literary and critical authorities from which you will be able more clearly to understand the nature of this criticism, and the ground of the objections to its authority on the part of Scholars and Theologians.

8. We shall commence the list with—

(1) The *British Quarterly*, (July, 1846, Vol. 3, p. 134,) the organ of the Congregationalists, a journal commenced in 1845, by the late Dr. Vaughan, well known as Professor of History, in the London University, and author of several historical works valued for their liberal and original views. He was one of the first to introduce to English Readers, the ever changing phases of German Philosophy, Theology, and Criticism. The Review under the editorship of Dr. Allon, maintains its well earned position as the first of liberal, and yet Orthodox Reviews. "The advocates of this system, assume that their knowledge of scriptural language, and other facts of early oriental history is so complete, that they can decide with little hesitancy and with absolute certainty on the genuineness or otherwise of any passage in the Old or New Testament, on internal evidence alone, so as to overpower all the authority of external proof."

(2) The Rev. H. H. Milman, Dean of St. Paul's, well known as a very advanced Biblical Critic, commonly considered to be of the Rationalistic School, (and who on this ground was 40 years ago severely handled by his Orthodox contemporaries,) makes the following remarks in the preface to the new edition of his *History of the Jews*, (Vol. 1, 8vo. p. xxiii., &c.) published in 1863:—"I must acknowledge as regards the modern German School of Criticism, profane as well as sacred, that my difficulty is more often with their dogmatism, than with their daring criticism. If they destroy dominant theories they rarely do not endeavour to compensate for this by constructing theories of their own, I must

say in general on the most arbitrary conjectures, and assert these theories with as much certitude and even intolerance as the most orthodox and conservative writers." Again, referring to Ewalds "Geschichte des Volkes Israel," Milman remarks upon his, *i.e.* Ewalds "dogmatism," "contemptuous arrogance," and "assumed autocracy," in the field of criticism, and then proceeds to the special point under consideration. "That the Hebrew records, especially the Books of Moses, may have been compiled from various documents, and it may be at an uncertain time, all this is assuredly a legitimate subject of enquiry. There may be some certain discernible marks and signs of difference in age and authorship. But that any critical microscope in the nineteenth century, can be so exquisite, and so powerful as to dissect the whole with perfect nicety, to decompose it, and assign each separate paragraph to its special origin in three, four or five, or more independent documents, each of which has contributed its part: this seems to me a task which no mastery of the Hebrew language with all its kindred tongues, no discernment however fine and discriminating can achieve." (pp. xxiii. xxiv.)

(3) Dr. Pusey, a divine of a very different school, but of whose learning and critical power there can be no difference of opinion, in his Introduction to his Comment on Zechariah (Minor Prophets) pp. 510, 511, referring to the Sceptical School of Germany remarks:—"It is an infelicity of the modern German mind, that it is acute in observing detailed difference rather than comprehensive in grasping deeper resemblances. It has been more busied in discovering what is new than in observing the ground of what is true. It does not somehow acquire the power of balancing evidence, which is habitual to the practical minds of our own countrymen. To take an instance of Criticism apart from Theology, the genuineness of a work of Plato. 'The genuineness of the Laws' says their recent translator (Professor Jowett) 'is sufficiently proved (1) by more than 20 citations of them in the writings of Aristotle' (whom Plato designated 'the intellect of the School,' and who must have been intimate with him for some 17 years for B.C. 364 to 347) who was residing at Athens during the last years of the life of Plato, and who returned to Athens at the time when he was himself writing his Politics

and Constitution. (2) By the allusion of Isocrates writing B.C. 346, a year after the death of Plato, and not more than two or three years after the Composition of the Laws. (3) By the reference of the comic poet Alexis, a younger contemporary of Plato, B.C. 356. (4) By the unanimous voice of later Antiquity and the absence of any suspicion among ancient writers worth noticing.' (Jewett Dialogues of Plato T. 4 p. 1) Yet German acuteness has found out reasons why the treatise should not be Plato's. These reasons are plausible as most untrue things are; as put together carefully by one who yet attaches no weight to them, they look like a parody of the argument, pronounced by Germans to take to pieces books of Holy Scripture. *Mutatis mutandis* they have such an absurd ludicrous resemblance that it provokes a smile. Some 50 years ago, there was a tradition at Göttingen where Heyne had lived, that he attributed the non-reception of the theories as to Homer, in England, to the English Bishops who 'apprehended that the same principle would be applied to Holy Scripture.' Now for half a century more both sets of Critics have had full scope. The classical sceptics seem to me to have had the advantage. Anyone who knew but a little of the uncritical criticism applied to the sacred books, could imagine what a jubilee of triumph it would have occasioned, could such differences as those pointed out between 'the Laws' and other treatises of Plato have been pointed out to detach any book of Holy Scripture from its traditional writer. Yet it is held inadequate by one of whom an admirer said that 'his peculiar mode of Criticism cut the very sinews of belief.' (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 28th March, 1868.) I insert the criticisms (omitting the details of illustration) because their failure may open the eyes of some to the utter valuelessness of this sort of criticism. The accuracy of the criticism is not questioned; the statements are not said to be exaggerated: yet they are held invalid. The question then comes with great force to the conscience: 'Why rejecting arguments so forcible as to a treatise of Plato, do I accept arguments very inferior, as to notice such a book of the Old or New Testament certain chapters of Isaiah, or Ecclesiastes, or these chapters of Zechariah, or the Epistle to the Hebrews, or the Revelation of St. John the Divine—except on grounds of

Theology not of Criticism, and how am I true to myself in rejecting such arguments as to human books, and accepting them as to Divine books?" Never was the case more fully or fairly stated between Historical Criticism and the Higher Criticism. We have not quoted the criticism referred to, (against the Laws) but they may be found in Professor Jowett's Introduction to the Law of Plato, (T. iv. pp. 11—16) or in the margin of Dr. Pusey's *Min. Prophets* (pp. 510, 511).

(4) Another ground of objection to the Higher Criticism arises from the fallibility of these tests of style, manner and tone of writings, ancient and modern, even in the case of the most learned critics who claim this sort of intuitive discernment, may be illustrated by a few instances, cases in point.

First, "The Amber Witch." Dr. Meinbold, a clergyman in Usedom, an island at the mouth of the Oder, composed this fiction, (1843) the subject being a trial for witchcraft, said to have taken place soon after the thirty years war (1648). The attractive character of the book and the Royal patronage, secured for it a wide and rapid circulation. It was everywhere read and praised as an authentic history. None of the neological critics impugned its authenticity. The Tübingen Reviewers (the Bentleys of Rationalism) pronounced their infallible sentence, grounded on their unerring skill in discriminating the character of any composition, in favour of the book as a genuine Ancient Chronicle. When the matter had gone so far, and the infallible Critics had fairly committed themselves, the author at once owned the work to be a fiction, got up and carried through solely by himself. The critics refused to believe him, asserting that the evidences of its antiquity were sooner to be believed than his declarations. After this proof of the fallibility of the Higher Criticism, how can we rely upon it in respect to its power of making out all the authorships of a series of books more than 3000 year old. (See Stuart on the Old Testament Canon 12mo. 1849, pp. 53, 54; *British Quarterly*, Vol. 3, p. 135; *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 74, p. 223.)

Second: The bilingual inscription on the Maltese stone said to be Greek and Phœnecian and of the supposed date the 85th Olympic (436 B.C.) believed by Gessenius and others to be genuine, but proved by Kopp to be a forgery.



Thirdly: The dogmatic conclusions of F. A. Wolff and other critics of his school respecting certain writings of Cicero, of Homer, Herodotus, Plato, Thucydides, Arrian, &c., deemed by them to be spurious, but successfully vindicated by Weiske and others.

Fourthly: The case of Walter Scott and the ballad, the "Raid of Featherstonhaugh" which he deemed genuine and published as such, though it was the work of a contemporary.

Lastly: The controversy in 1868 in the *Times* respecting the authorship of a poem attributed to Milton. If educated Englishmen found it difficult to decide the point disputed in respect to a writing only 200 years old, and in their own tongue, our faith in the ability of any class of scholars to decide from internal evidence on the authorship of the Pentateuch and other books written in Hebrew 3,300 years ago must be shaken.

9. So much for the excesses of the Higher Criticism which have provoked on the part of Scholars a wholesale condemnation which is much to be deprecated. To abuse German criticism is by some the shibboleth of Orthodoxy. It is not however mere "ambitious sciolism and learned pedantry." We are indebted to it for a deeper insight into the lexicography and grammar of the Hebrew, of the Hellenistic Greek, and cognate languages. The interpretation of the phraseology of the Old Testament, which formerly rested on traditional rabbinical authority, has been placed on Philological principles admitted by all scholars. The deep researches of these Critics have left no dark corner of a past antiquity unexplored, and through their labours we understand more clearly and fully the relation of the Jewish people to their neighbours, and sundry other matters important to the Biblical Scholar, and to the Divine. The rash and reckless conclusions of some of this school; and their intolerant dogmatism may be accounted for, and partly excused, as retaliatory, provoked by the stereotyped narrowness of their opponents; and by the still less bearable sweeping and unqualified attacks upon their orthodoxy, by most of the adherents of the Old School. It is much to be regretted that in these Biblical controversies, there has been a revival of the language of the great critics of the 16th and 17th Centuries, when Scaliger, Salmasius and their compeers could

emulate the epithets of Billingsgate in choice or barbarous Latin, happily unintelligible to the public at large. Ewald for instance generally speaks of his fellow critics with contempt. "Hupfield and Knobel are unsatisfactory—the opinions of such men as Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Keil and Kurtz, stand below and outside all science," (Ewald's History, Vol. I., p. 64) the offended Critics reply in similar terms. Dr. S. Davidson is remarkable for his depreciatory remarks on men in all respects his equals. Bishop Colenso known to be a gentleman as well as a scholar, and specially distinguished by his suavity is sometimes betrayed into similar failures of temper. On the other hand, the Critics of the Old School are too apt to charge all who differ from them with a desire to discredit Christianity. In their displays of temper the characteristics of the two Schools manifest themselves—the Old School is inclined to an unreasonable conservatism and cannot imagine the possibility of the true faith being maintained by the Critics of the New School; who on their side are tempted to favor rash theories, simply because they are novelties, and to look upon the Old School as favouring and even creating obstructions to all progress in Scientific Criticism. In the opinion of impartial observers the injurious influence of the Sceptical School of continental criticism upon English students may be traced to the deficiencies of our own Critical School. Not that English learning has been altogether neglectful of Biblical Literature. In the 17th Century English Scholars were at least abreast of the age, and maintained their position during a portion of the 18th Century. We may refer with pride to Walton's Polyglott and Castell's Lexicon, 8 vols., folio, 1656—60; The Critici Sacri, 9 vols., folio, 1660; Matt. Pooles Synopsis Criticorum, 5 vols., folio, 1669; Hody on the Septuagist, folio, 1704; Grabes Septuagist, 5 vols., folio, 1707—20; Mills Greek Testament, folio, 1707; Taylors Hebrew Concordance, 2 vols., folio, 1754; Kennicott's Hebrew Bible, 2 vols., folio, 1776; Holmes and Parsons Septuagint, 5 vols., 1798—1827; add to these Mede, Ussher, Lightfoot, Lardner, and a host of minor Commentators. It is much to be regretted that for some years our Scholars appeared to rest and enjoy the result of past researches, until roused by the appearance of the unsettling Criticism and irreverent theories of some of their

continental contemporaries. This deficiency to which we have referred, is however in a fair way of being remedied. With such men as C. J. Ellicott, now Bishop of Gloucester, B. W. Westcott, J. B. Lightfoot, F. H. Scrivener, F. Field, S. P. Tregelles, and others whose critical labours are in the hands of all Scholars, we may look forward to the vindication of British Scholarship. And although much of our serial literature is either frivolous or mischievous as ministering to unrest, there is some hope for the interests of sound learning and Scriptural Orthodoxy, when we read the valuable papers which appear in the *British Quarterly*, the *London Quarterly*, the *British and Foreign Evangelical*, and in the new *Church of England Quarterly*, journals which are a credit to our literature, and to the churches by which they are supported, a blessing to the community at large and especially to the Church of Christ.

10. After these remarks on the Critical Schools, we come to the subject of the Criticism, the Bible, *i.e.*, pre-eminently and distinctively the Book, the English version of which is the standard of our language. I may quote the unprejudiced testimony of the great Scientific Sceptic Huxley, who in vindicating the utility and necessity of its use in the work of education remarked, "It is written in the noblest and purest English, and abounds in exquisite beauties of mere literary form—and finally that it forbids the veriest hind who never left his village to be ignorant of the existence of other countries and other civilizations, and of a great past stretching back to the furthest limits of the oldest nations in the world. By the study of what other book could children be so much humanized and made to feel that each figure in the vast historical procession, fills like themselves, but a momentary space in the interval between two eternities, and earns the blessings or the curses of all time according to its effort to do good and hate evil, even as they also are earning their payment for their work." (See Critiques and Addresses.) Now contrast this eulogium from one who does not profess to be a Christian, with the practical indifference and disrespect which is shown to thousands of copies of the Bible in England and the Colonies by professedly Christian people. Just take up the first copy of the Bible you can lay

hold of whether in hotel, railway station, or private house. It may be, but very rarely is, a copy in type, paper, and general finish worthy of the Book, indicative of the reverential regard due to its claims; or what is more likely, it may be one of those wretched cramped copies, in paper, type, and externals of the lowest character, covered with dust, torn and defaced, unused because unuseable, disregarded because its outward appearance invites neglect. Little do our pious people think how the influence of the Book of God is lessened among the uneducated classes, and among the young especially, by these disgraceful impressions, for which no excuse can be offered, but the plea of cheapness—a plea the most futile, as if a few pence additional in price would not be readily paid by the poorest for a more readable copy. Is it not a fact that Hymn Books and Prayer Books with the best bindings, and not the cheapest copies have the readiest sale? In this disreputable shape the book repels rather than invites perusal. And there is another deficiency of a yet more serious character. These copies have no Editorial helps affixed or prefixed to aid the reader in his attempts to acquire an intelligent acquaintance with their contents. These are needed by the so-called educated as well as the uneducated classes of all English speaking populations; for the teachings of the common school, of the Grammar or High School, and even the curriculum of the Universities do not often convey the sort of information necessary to the rational and profitable perusal of the Bible; and it is a remarkable fact, that for want of such helps, a larger number of respectable youths fail in examination in Biblical history than in any other branch of study, and in most cases their ignorance is never remedied in after life. A fact more discreditable to their parents than to their teachers, but discreditable to both: Open your Bible, look at “the name and order of all the books.” In the Old Testament there are 39, of which 17 are histories of events from the creation to within 400 B.C.: books without which the history of the Ancient World would be imperfect—5 which are didactic and devotional—17 are Prophetical—all written from 1500 B.C. to 400 B.C., a period of 1100 years of Hebrew literature! There is a gap of four centuries between the conclusion of the history of the Old Testament and the commencement of the Gospel History in the

New. The reader passes from Malachi the prophet, and the history of Nehemiah's administration as Persian Governor of the Jews 424 B.C., to Matthew's reference to Herod the King of the Jews. There certainly ought to be a page or two connecting, by a reference to Alexander's conquest of Persia—the Roman conquest of Alexander's successors in Egypt and Syria—the successful emancipation of the Jewish people from Syrian tyranny under the Maccabees, and the circumstances which led to Herod the Idumean's elevation to the Kingship of Judea, to which, by birth, he had no claim. If every school classic requires notes to make its historical allusions and other matters understandable to our youth, how much more the books which compose our Bible! This want was partly met in some of the early square editions of King James's Version, 1611-12, which had maps, chronological explanations, genealogical tables, and other information necessary to be known by the English reader. There is a proper objection on the part of the Bible Society to circulate the Scriptures with notes theological, the reason of which is obvious. What is a painful necessity should not be made a boast. That sectarian differences do not admit of our introducing doctrinal notes is no reason why we should glory in the fact that our Bible Societies circulate a book, which of all books, from its antiquity and peculiarities is most in need of a certain class of explanatory elucidations, without note or comment to help the general reader to understand its scope and general bearing. All this appears irrational, and unaccountable, until we remember the jealousies of the English Churches in 1804, when the British and Foreign Bible Society commenced its invaluable labours. That narrowness is a thing of the past. All Christian churches would now be willing to accept editions of the Bible with notes literary and critical. The absence of some such apparatus is injurious to the interests of religion and morality. Much of the infidelity of the ignorant, and much also of the indifference of the educated classes have been fostered by the circulation of copies of the Bible, minus the short explanatory notes which would have helped the reader to form a right appreciation of its contents. Give the English reader a Bible on the plan of Bagster's Comprehensive Bible 4to (1829) do for the Bible what you do for the most trashy Greek

and Roman Classic, and you will make it the most interesting of all books, and the most popular—and so far as its religious authority is concerned, the best of evidence, and the most conclusive proof of its own Divine origin. We are thankful for the many helps which the Religious Tract Society, and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge have given to the Church—but we want such help to be appended to the Bible itself.

11. The title page of the English Bible is to all of us (if we choose) our first lesson in Biblical criticism—here it is “The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments: translated out of the original tongues.” In the opinion of our translators *the Bible* is divine, and as such differs from all other books, *holy* as must be the Word of God, (2 Timothy iii. 15.) The Old Testament was God’s revelation to the Jewish Church, the New to the Christian Church: the former originally written in Hebrew, with a few passages in Chaldee, the latter in Hellenistic Greek, the Greek modified in Eastern use. These were the original tongues out of which the Bible was translated. In this full and ample title page, an intelligent teacher may find texts for several valuable lessons, introductory to the study of the Scriptures. The English Bible being a translation from the Hebrew original, the agreement and correspondence of the contents of the one with the other must be assured. There is at first sight an apparent diversity in the number of the books or distinct treatises of which the Bible is composed, as presented in the Hebrew and English bibles, but this is merely a diversity of arrangement, the 22 books of the Hebrew corresponding exactly in their contents to the 39 of the English Bible.

12. The Hebrew arrangement was made by the Editors to correspond with the 22 letters of the Hebrew Alphabet, and in order to this, the book of Ruth was included in Judges, the two books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles, were reckoned as one each. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah were included as one, the twelve Minor Prophets were considered as one. These were the Jewish Canonical books, that is to say the books which the Canon or authoritative rule of the Jewish Church recognised as the Sacred books, and in that respect distinguished from all others: Of these books our English Bible is the honest representative

As Christians we are interested in the identifying of the Hebrew Bible in our present recension with "the Scriptures" received by the Jewish Church and people eighteen centuries ago, and recognised as such by our Lord and his Apostles. This brings us to the question of (1) the Jewish Canon, and the general testimony as to the books it embraced, and the authority under which it was formed: and (2) to the important matter of the Hebrew Verity as it was called by the old Divines, or in other words the condition of the present text of the Hebrew Bible; and this preliminary information is absolutely necessary in our Biblical enquiries.

13. The Jewish Canon. That "God—at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets," (see Hebrews i. 1) and that the records of these revelations have been preserved in a collection of writings, classified and generally known and quoted as the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, was the universal opinion of the ancient Jewish Church and people at the beginning of the Christian Era, and for some centuries previous, of which the following testimonies are satisfactory evidence:—

(a) Jesus the Son of Sirach who is supposed to have lived B.C. 247—226, or later 169—131 B.C. in his "Prologue" to the Book of "Ecclesiasticus" refers to "the Law and the Prophets and other books of our fathers:" the former date is undoubtedly the correct one (Pusey's Daniel pp. 297—305. Stanley Leathes structure of the Old Testament, pp. 17, 18.)

(b) Philo-Judæus, the Philosophical Jew, B.C. 20, A.D. 40, in his treatise on the "contemplative life" as practised by the Therapeutæ or Essenes, refers to their possession and constant use of "The Laws and oracles predicted by the Prophets, and Hymns and other writings" by which knowledge and piety are increased and perfected."

(c) Josephus, the warrior and Historian A.D. 38—97 in his learned treatise against Apion, the most valuable of his writings Book I.: Chap. 8, alludes to this classification of the Sacred Books, and bears witness to the identity of the then Canon of the Jewish Scripture with our own by the details he gives, which are as follows—"We have only 22 books which are believed to be of

Divine authority, of which *five* are the books of Moses. From the death of Moses to the end of the reign of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes the King of Persia, the Prophets who were the successors of Moses have written thirteen books: the remaining *four* books contain hymns to God and documents of life for the use of men." Of these twenty-two books Josephus remarks that "during so many ages no one has been so bold as either to add anything to them, to take anything from them, or to make any change in them: but it became natural to all Jews from their birth to esteem these books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and if occasion be willing to die for them." This evidence appears to me indisputable as to the Old Testament canon. Josephus give here the opinions of the Pharisaic party as well as his own. The popular belief that the Sadducees rejected all the books of the Old Testament except the Pentateuch is erroneous.

(d) In the Evangelists and in the Epistles, our Lord and his Apostles quote from "*The Law of Moses, and the Prophets and the Psalms*," (Luke xxiv. 44) more frequently using the shorter formula, "*The Law and the Prophets*," (Romans iii. 21.)

(e) The time when and the authority upon which we depend for the Canon of the Old Testament may be safely inferred from the statement of Josephus, that the sacred books were twenty-two in number, all completed "before the end of the reign of Artaxerxes," (424 B.B.), and that since then "no one has dared to add to them." The Canon then must have been formed in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, a period in fact confirmed by tradition, and by the general opinion of the Jewish Rabbis as contained in one of the oldest treatises preserved in the Talmud.

(f) At that time three inspired prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi were living. It is more than probable that by their assistance and recognised authority as Prophets, *i.e.*, Teachers inspired, the sacred books of the Ancient Scriptures, were collected and re-edited. At no other time since, and by no other authority could such an important work have been accomplished, and on no other supposition can we understand how it was that this Canon of the Old Testament was universally received by the Jewish Church and people. Some as De Wette, think that the



present Canon included the whole of Jewish Literature then extant: but Josephus refers to other books; and in the books of the Old Testament there are reference to 15 books sometimes as authorities for historical facts, or referred to for further information. These were no doubt in existence at the time when the Canon was formed from Ezra 420 down to Simon the Just 300 B.C. It does not seem possible that any books written later than the time of Malachi could have been admitted into the Canon, as no writing was accepted as Divine which had not the sanction of a prophet known to be an inspired authority. According to Josephus no such prophet had been known since the days of Nehemiah—this is confirmed by Philo, Jesus the Son of Sirach (*Ecclesiasticus* xlix. 10) and by the author of the book of Maccabees iv. 46; ix. 27; xiv. 41.

(g) Jewish Traditions preserved in the Talmud, and probably of so early a date as 200 B.C., which carry with them a strong evidence of credibility, relate that the men of the Great Synagogue completed the work of revision. This Synod consisted of 120 of the leaders of the different orders of the Jewish people, and they say that the first list of them is found in Nehemiah the 10th Chap. 1 to 10. On the death of Simon the Just 292 B.C., the Sanhedrim (the Council of 70) succeeded as the Ecclesiastical Court of the nation. Simon, Michaelis, and other critics dispute the authority of this tradition, but it has been successfully vindicated by Graetz and Dr. Ginsburg. To the Jews *were committed the Oracles of God*. (St. Paul Romans iii. 2.)

(h) The word Apocrypha means hidden, secret, spurious, *i.e.*, not canonical. The books which never formed part of the Hebrew Canon are styled Apocryphal, they form no part of the Septuagint Version (280—240 B.C.), many of them being not written at that time, and others not considered as inspired. Philo and Jesus the son of Sirach clearly distinguish between these books and the Canonical books. In after ages the Hellenistic Jews and some of the Christian Fathers, even Augustine, unacquainted with Hebrew, looked upon these books with favor, and they were read in the Churches and by some regarded as inspired. Jerome in the 4th century had juster views: the Council of Trent has declared them Canonical, and as such the Church of Rome receives them.

Our Protestant Bible is that of the Hebrew Church and people from Ezra to the present time.

In conclusion, in reference to this important branch of Biblical Criticism, let me refer you for further information in the classification of the sacred books, and the reasons which justified their place in the Canon, to the proper place for such matters in the lecture which follows. The most satisfactory writers on the Canon, and the most likely to be read are Keil in his "critical introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament," (translated by Douglas, Vol. 2 p.p. 137, &c.) Rev. Dr. W. L. Alexander on the "Canon," and Dr. Ginsburg on the "Great Synagogue" in Kitto's Biblical Cyclopaedia (3rd edition.)

14. *The Hebrew Verity* is a phrase made use of by the old Divines, to express the foregone conclusion and presumption, that the original text of the Hebrew Bible had by a special miracle been preserved to modern times. From this dream they were startled by the controversy as to the origin and date of the Vowel points between the Buxtorfs and Morinus and Cappell in the 17th Century; and by subsequent discoveries of from 30,000 to 200,000 different readings in the MSS. and printed editions of the Hebrew Bible. These variations are however very unimportant. The Hebrew Bible of the present day is no doubt substantially the same as the recension made by Ezra and others, the text which was the *Textus Receptus* in the days of our Lord and his Apostles. It is however important to keep in mind, that in this text the old phraseology is occasionally modernized, obscure passages explained by a glossary of a word or phrase, the chronologies and genealogies especially have suffered through the errors of transcribers—all this implies some little though unimportant alteration in the language of the original writers.

(a) We have no autographs, and no perfect MSS. of either the Hebrew or Greek Scriptures, or of any Greek or Latin Classic author; on the contrary there is no ancient book, sacred or secular, of which the text is not to some extent imperfect and incorrect. In this respect the Hebrew Scriptures stand in the same but in no worse position than all other writings of antiquity. The fact has been exaggerated by the sceptical school, as for instance Lord Bolingbroke in his Letters on History (1752) who

asserts "that the Scriptures of the Old Testament are come down to us broken and confused, full of additions, interpolation and transpositions, made we neither know when or by whom: and such in sort as never appeared on the face of any other book, or whose authority men have agreed to rely,"—and further it is his opinion "That if the Scriptures had been given originally by Divine inspiration, either such accidents would not have happened, or the Scriptures would have been preserved entirely in their genuine purity, notwithstanding these accidents." (Works Vol. I. p. 95) His Lordship, however, refutes in part his own objection in the next page, admitting "that amidst all the changes—neither the original writer or later compilers have been suffered to make any essential alterations such as would have falsified the Law of God and the principles of the Jewish and Christian religion in any other Divine fundamental points." (pp. 97, 98.)

(b) The true state of the case is given by that most learned father of modern English Criticism, Dr. Bentley, (in his "Remarks on a late Discourse on Free Thinking," (1713). "It is a fact undeniable that the Sacred Books have suffered no more alterations than common or classic authors, and have no more variations, than what must necessarily have happened from the nature of things; and it has been the common sense of men of letters, that numbers of manuscripts do not make a text precarious; but are useful, nay, necessary to its establishment and certainty. I have too much value for the ancient classics, even to suppose that they are to be abandoned: because their remains are sufficiently pure and genuine to make us sure of the writer's design. If a corrupt line or dubious reading chances to intervene, it does not darken the whole context, nor make an author's purpose precarious. Terence, for instance, has as many variations as any book whatever in proportion to its bulk, and yet with all its interpolations omissions or glosses (choose the worst of them on purpose) you cannot deface the contrivance and plot of one play, no not of one single scene; but its sense, design, and subserviency to the last issue and conclusion shall be visible and plain through all the mists of various lections. And so it is with the Sacred Text. And why then must the

Sacred Book have been exempted from the injuries of time, and secured from the least change? What need of that perpetual miracle; if with all the present changes the whole Scripture is perfect and sufficient to all the great ends and purposes of its first writing?" The opinion of the great critic to whose laborious industry his biographer testifies, is conclusive: he had a claim to speak with authority, for it is said that "before the age of 24, he had written with his own hand a sort of Hexapla, a thick volume in 4to, in the first column of which was every word of the Hebrew Bible, alphabetically disposed, and in five other columns all the various interpretations of those words in the Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate Latin, Septuagent and Aquila, Symmachus and Theodosian, that occur in the whole Bible. This he made for his own private use, to know the Hebrew, not from the later Rabbins, but the Ancient Versions." (Chalmers Bib. Dic., Vol. 4, p. 501.)

15. At the same time, we have reason to be thankful that the text of Scripture is comparatively more correct than that of any book which has come to us from ancient times. In many classical authors there are passages so faulty that conjecture is the only remedy for amending them. Let any one look at the pages of Eschylus, Sophocles, Plato, Terence, and Lucretius, and he will find not only thousands of different readings—scarcely a line without one, and many places at which erudite skill can only guess at what the text might be. Dr. Geddes (a Romanist and Rationalist) remarks, "What work of Antiquity is there, the text of which we have so many means of correcting as that of the Pentateuch," and adds that by the help of the old versions Greek, Syriac, &c., and the various MSS. readings, "a really genuine copy of the Pentateuch may by the rules of a judicious criticism be at length obtained." (Preface, p. xx.) To the learned and laborious drudgery of the industrious Jewish Doctors of Tiberias, commonly called "Masoretes" (Traditionists) from their attempt to restore the pure traditionary readings of the sacred books, freed from the glosses and corruptions of past ages, we are indebted for the present comparatively correct text of the Hebrew books. This recension was made in the period between the 6th and the 11th century. The character of their criticism was conservative rather than conjectural, preserving

even a faulty reading in the text and correcting it by the marginal notes *keri* and *khetib*. They no doubt introduced the vowel points and other diacritical marks, which never were and are not even now used in the copies read in the Synagogue. Their labours were founded on the researches of their predecessors in the *Mishna*, (oral interpretation of the law) in the 2nd century—in the *Gemara*, (a commentary thereon) of Jerusalem 370 to 380 A.D., and that of Babylon 427—475 A.D. The *Gemara* and *Mishna* are included in the *Talmud*. The old Masorah (Traditional Interpretation) dates from before the 6th century, and the new extended to the 11th century, of which we have two recensions, the one by Aaron Ben Asher, of Tiberias, and the other by Jacob Ben Naphtali, of Babylon. Our printed Hebrew Bibles, are from the Tiberias recension. We may mention other Jewish Scholars who as commentators and critics helped to guard jealously the integrity of the text of the Hebrew Bible—Solomon Jarchi, 1040—1105; Aben Ezra, 1119—1175; Maimonides, 1131—1204; Jacob Kimchi 1190—1240; and Elias Levita, 1447—1530. Justice have never yet been done to the indomitable vigour and laborious industry of the Jewish Scholars, we forget the men of the great Synagogue, (the Bible Committee of the Jewish Church) from Nehemiah to the death of Simon the Just 290 B.C.; the labours of Antigonius of Socho, and of Hillel and Gamaliel, are scarcely known to us. Few sympathize with the literary zeal which immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem established a Biblical School at Jamnia, and finally at Tiberias, and the words Targum, Talmud, Masora, are to most Christian ears strange and inscrutable. Basnages History is seldom read, but the writings of that gifted Jew, Emanuel Deutsch, (who died in 1873) and his brief memoir, have helped to give the English reading public more correct notions of the character of Jewish literature, and of our indebtedness to that literature especially in the preservation of a substantially correct text of the Hebrew Scriptures. I may add to the list of Oriental Biblical Scholars whose writings have helped to call public attention to this branch of literature, two names of Wesleyan Ministers, the only writers connected with that branch of the Christian Church who since the time of Dr. Adam Clarke, have given special attention to this

generally neglected class of Rabbinical studies. Dr. James Townley, whose illustrations of Biblical Literature, 3 vols., 8vo., and translation of the "More Nevochim" of Maimonides 1821—9 display no small amount of learning and research. Dr. J. W. Etheridge, whose Histories of Hebrew and Syriac Literature, and Translations of the Targums and of the Syriac Gospels and Acts, &c., have been recommended by the Edinburgh Reviewers. I may also mention the name of another beloved friend and colleague, the late Rev. Dr. Hoole, the results of whose labours in this department will I hope not be lost to the Church. In one respect the criticism of the text of the Old Testament is placed at some disadvantage compared with that of the New. In the *Old Testament* we are confined to MSS. all of one class from the original Masoretic copy—the various readings cannot be judged by any special circumstance connected with supposed exemplars, as in the case of the Greek Testament; their *number* rather than any acknowledged value attached to the MSS. must decide as to the correctness of the reading. Not any of the few most ancient MSS. are of great antiquity. There are some supposed to be of the 6th, 8th and 9th Century, but their age is doubtful. The *two* oldest Hebrew MSS., now the property of the Czar of Russia, in the collection at Petersburg are one containing the *Prophets* A.D. 916-7, and another of the entire Bible A.D. 1009. The *printed text of our Hebrew Bible* is formed upon that of *Opitius*, published 1709, the labour of 30 years, one of the most accurate ever printed; and upon Vander Hooght's published 1705. When the learned had recovered from their erroneous belief in the Hebrew verity, attention began to be paid to the collecting of various readings by the collation of MSS. Kennecott and De Rossi from 1776-1790 A.D. collated 1459 MSS. and 418 printed documents, besides copies of the Talmud and other Jewish writings. Kennicott's Hebrew Bible, 2 vols. folio, contains 200,000 various readings, very few of which affect the sense of the text. By these labours, continued by other scholars, the text has been brought under the eye of modern Criticism—but can never reach to the perfection which Critics hope to attain in the case of the text of the New Testament. It is obvious that the translators of the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch and

version, the Syriac, the old Italic and the Vulgate had before them texts differing considerably from our present received Hebrew text. These variations and differences do not affect any point of faith or morals, but the fact of their existence has an important bearing in relation to many of the theories of the "higher Criticism." So also the *errors* which are admitted to have crept into the text by the mistakes of copyists, and the *interpolations* and *additions* of Editors from Ezra to the days of Simon the Just, all of which have to some extent modified the phraseology of the original writers. These do not affect the genuineness and antiquity of the writings, but they so far neutralize some of the most astounding assumptions of certain "advanced" Critics, resting as they do upon mere verbal peculiarities. Our Hebrew text though *substantially* the same as that of the recension ascribed to Ezra is not so in some minor particulars—the liberty which he took in editing the older books, has been followed by others, and their corrections (originally placed as notes in the margin) have passed into the text. To take these phrases and additions and infer from them conclusions unfavourable to the antiquity of the documents (of which originally they formed no part) is to reason in a circle. Here again I would quote Dr. Milman in reference to this class of criticisms. "There seems to me a fatal fallacy in the ground work of much of their argument. Their minute inferences and conclusions drawn from slight premises seem to presuppose an integrity and perfect accuracy in the existing text, not in itself probable, and certainly utterly inconsistent with the general principles of their Criticism." (History of the Jews, Vol. I, p. 132-3.) On the whole, however, the Jews have been faithful guardians of the purity of the text. The charge of designed corruption is confined to only *four* passages—Deut. xxvii. 4, Psalm xvi. 10, Psalm xxii. 16-17, and Zechariah xii. 10, to which we shall have occasion to refer as we proceed with these lectures—and in which we hope to be able to vindicate the Jews from this charge. Dr. S. Davidson has attempted to do for the Old Testament text, what Griesbach and others have done for the Greek Testament, in his valuable book on the Hebrew text published 1865.

16. *The antiquity of the art of writing* is a point of no small importance in connection with the *text* of the Pentateuch, which is considered to have been written about 1500 B.C. In 1795 *F. A. Wolff*, a learned German Professor in his Prolegomena to a new edition of *Homer*, advocated the opinion that the poems of Homer were not committed to writing till the time of Pisistratus A.D. 560—and that writing was not known in Greece long before that period. This, *if true* as regards Greece, would not have affected the Oriental nations Phœnecia, Syria, the Hebrews, Babylonia, Egypt, but it was at once taken for granted that the art of writing could not have been known at the time of Moses, and consequently that the Pentateuch could not have been written by him. The generation of the learned after Wolff assumed as a fact proved and admitted, these consequences of the Wolffian theory, implying the comparatively modern origin of the earliest remains of Hebrew literature (for instance the Pentateuch,) with the same confidence as certain Critics of the advanced school now speak of the theory of the authorship of the Pentateuch by Samuel, or by some one living about or even after the captivity; and of the other theories of the Maccabean date of the Book of Daniel, as well as the two-fold authorship of the Books of Isaiah and of Zechariah as facts firmly established by what has been aptly called "*that literary terrorist the most recent Criticism*" (Edin. Rev. Vol. 104, p. 374). It was in vain for those who were not converts to these theories to appeal to the many references to the art of writing to be found in the Pentateuch itself; that most ancient record, being considered as on trial, and not permitted to bear witness on facts bearing on its own veracity. These views of the recent origin of the art of writing are no longer maintained, the discoveries of our *Egyptologists*, and of our learned labourers in the ruins of Ninevah and Babylon having proved beyond controversy *the remote antiquity of letters and of syllabic and alphabetical writing*; Baron Bunsen is satisfied that the art of writing was practiced in Egypt in the time of *Menes* the first King, whose date is probably 2700 B.C. according to Poole's System of Chronology. There is a list of *old Egyptian literature* in Bunsen's first Volume of "*Egypt's place in Universal History*," comprising Science, Music, &c. The earliest papyrus MSS. is said to be of the age of Cheops 2300 B.C.;



there is another containing the moral essays of one Ptah-heft a Prince of the 5th Dynasty, 2200 B.C. in the Imperial library at Paris. The Book of the Dead, of which there is a Papyrus copy at Turin, and which is simply a portion of the old Sacred Ritual in 42 Books was taken from the hands of a Mummy in which it had been placed long before the time of Moses. Another Papyrus in the British Museum contains a so-called moral tale written by one Kagabu for the use of a royal Prince Selt-Menophtha, who is supposed to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus. In an article on Hieratic Papyri written by C. W. Goodwin in the *Cambridge Essays*, (Vol. 2 p. 226, 1858) there are translations of novels, histories &c., written during the period of the Israelites bondage in Egypt. If as the most authentic records tell us that Man first existed as a civilised being, and that civilised communities are the original, and barbarous tribes the mere off-shoots, the very backwoods men of ancient civilization—an opinion opposed to the sceptical theory of man's rise from a mere animal and degraded position; then it will be easily understood that the art of writing may have been known from the remotest antiquity, and that the books of Genesis and the other books could have been written at the times usually given as their date, and that the notion to the contrary from the supposed ignorance of the art of writing is altogether erroneous. The publication of "Records of the Past," by Bagster & Son, (Egyptian and Assyrian) in the original characters, with translations, of which already eight volumes are in the hands of the public, must satisfy the most sceptical on this point.

17. We now conclude this *first* Introductory Lecture, in which we have endeavoured to refresh the memories of our hearers in reference to some preliminary matters connected with the study of the Criticism of the Bible. (1) *The two Schools of Criticism.* (2) *The Canon of the Old Testament.* (3) *The text of the Hebrew Bible.* It is possible that you may have heard nothing beyond what you have known for years past; still, the refreshing of the memory on these important matters is of itself an advantage, and the repetition of this class of facts was necessary to the completion of the plan of these Lectures. The *next* Lecture will also be Introductory, devoted to a *Sketch of the rise and progress of Scepticism and its influence on Biblical Criticism.*

With the third Lecture will commence our examination of the bearing of these two classes of Criticisms upon the Books of the Old Testament commencing with the Pentateuch—then with the Historical Books—next the Prophecies of Isaiah, Daniel, Zechariah and others, making, perhaps, six or seven Lectures in all. Should life be spared we may be permitted next year to take up the Criticism which assails the character of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles of the New Testament. Biblical Criticism however cannot be made *generally* interesting, and the form of a Lecture has been adopted, not in expectation of drawing together any beyond the smallest number of hearers, but in the hope of arresting the attention of a large number of readers when the Lectures are reported in the press. In this first introductory Lecture and in the following which is also Introductory, there will be much that is discursive and which will appear to be not at all directly connected with the main subject to which the Lectures are professedly devoted ; but if these wanderings to the right or left tend to awaken thought and prompt enquiries, they will not have been altogether useless.

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## ERRATA.

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p. 10, line 7, for "Jewett," read "Jowett."

p. 11, ,, 7, for "Law," read "Laws."

p. 14, ,, 3, for "B. N. Westcott," read "B. F. Westab."







## LECTURE II.

(INTRODUCTORY.)

### SKETCH OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF SCEPTICISM AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

1. To some this sketch may appear irrelevant, but experience justifies the general opinion, that to go back to the *genesis* of an idea, and to trace the progress of a new thought is no small help towards arriving at right conclusions respecting its real character and practical bearing. No one can doubt this who has read the "Critical History of Free Thought," (the Bampton Lecture for 1862) by Abram S. Farrar, a work of great research, and characterized by a liberal orthodoxy. It is possible that some timid Christians may question the expediency of exhibiting the multifarious sophisms of Sceptical thought, on the oft quoted principle that, "where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise:" but if willing to admit the doubtful doctrine, that to remain unacquainted with any facts in the history of the human intellect would be a benefit, we are well aware that to ignore the philosophical and theological speculations of the past or of the present day is an impossibility. We also believe concealment to be undesirable, and that the faithful exhibition of the vagaries of mind is the most natural, efficient and satisfactory antidote to whatever is unsound in them. We cannot if we would avoid discussions of this character as the human intellect is naturally drawn towards them in connexion with the moral relations assumed to exist between Man and God. The conclusions arrived at will depend much upon our theory of the extent or limitation of man's moral and intellectual faculties; as they are naturally, apart from special spiritual teaching. To take revelation as a guide in the use of our reason, and to depend upon it as an authority when reason fails is one method. To treat revelation as secondary to reason in such cases is another: and to set revelation aside altogether is a third method, and though an extreme one is

certainly more logical than to subordinate the teachings of Revelation to human conceptions in the case of a class of truths which lie beyond the range of experience and sense. It is well for the higher interests of mankind, that all these methods have in their turn been fairly tried. If we had a complete chronicle of the several rebellions of the human intellect against Divine Law, from the days of Enoch before the flood when *men spake great swelling words against God*, (Jude 15, 16) to the days when the Hebrew *fool said in his heart there is no God*, (Psalm xiv. 1.) we should be able to point out their general resemblance in character and their results in practice, to the extreme views of the atheistical school from the earliest ages of Christianity up to their culminating point in Strauss in our day. For there is nothing new, not even in the most rampant and startling unbelief. The history of man's sincere and conscientious doubtings is however another matter, and forms not only an interesting but a valuable additional chapter in the history of the intellectual and moral development of our race. The lesson taught us though a profitable one is none the less painful. Scepticism in its beginnings is to some extent "a spawn of our own wrong," provoked in some cases by the inculcation of unscriptural dogmas as articles of faith on the part of the Churches, or by imperfect exhibitions of Christian truths. Thus Christianity has ever been *wounded in the house of its friends*, (Zechariah xiii. 6.) Had the Christian Church from the beginning, in the loving spirit of Christ, understood and carried out the duty and policy of Toleration: and if after the Reformation, the Protestant Churches in their Confessions of faith had confined themselves to the fundamental truths set forth in the Apostle's Creed, the Nicene and the Athanasian Creeds (minus the damnable clauses of the latter), Scepticism might have been a thing known only by name as an eccentricity of thought confined only to a few. *But while men slept, the enemy came and sowed tares.* (Matt. xiii. 25.)

2. Within the Christian Church, or rather outside of its pale (though nominally accounted as Christian Sects,) the Ebionites, and the various Gnostic philosophical parties, including the writers of the Clementine books are noticed in the first and second Centuries, some of them ignoring the Old Testament, and others portions

of the New Testament, chiefly on account of their doctrinal views, not on critical grounds: of these sects and their writings Norton gives a full and rather partial account in his work on the Gospels, (2 vols., 8vo.) Towards the end of the second century, the Greek Philosophers under the Roman rule politically, but themselves the rulers of Roman thought, laid aside their apparent contemptuous indifference, and began to examine the Sacred writings of the Jewish and Christian Churches. From the time of St. Paul, Christianity at Rome, had found its chief centre in the Imperial household (Phillip iv. 22.) Flavius Clemens, Consul in 95 A.D., a relation of the Emperor was put to death in Domitians persecution, and another relative Domatilla was banished, both of them on account of their Christian profession. That the first converts were mainly slaves or freedmen, is no proof of their mental inferiority, for amongst this class were frequently found the most intelligent and cultivated men of that day, who were quite competent to understand the merits and claims of Paganism and Christianity. The new opinion spreading therefore rapidly since the reign of Trajan, as certified by Pliny, had become a fact and a power, recognized as such by the heathen populace: and felt to be such more keenly still by the philosophical "professors," who themselves affecting to despise the vulgar polytheism, hated the Christian teachers as rivals whose teachings were opposed to theirs, and which seemed by their progress to be far better adapted to meet the moral and spiritual cravings of the higher as well as the lower classes of Society: Celsus, a Philosopher who lived in the time of Antoninus Pius, and of Marcus Aurelius A.D. 140—176, excited perhaps by the failure of the last Jewish rebellion under Adrian, and by the persecution of the Christians by Marcus Aurelius, wrote a work entitled, "The True Word," in which he attacked the Old Testament, and some of the books which now form part of the New Testament. The attacks of Celsus are those of an able and determined opponent, one who like our own Gibbon wrote as if he had a personal enmity against Christ; he anticipates in principle every objection which the learning and culture of "Modern Thought" have in our age advanced against Christianity and its precursor Judaism. Our Sceptics have just reason to exclaim with the old plagiarist,



"Plague on these ancients! they are always stealing one's good thoughts!" Froude (the historian) has recently given a sketch of Celsus and his arguments in *Frazer's Magazine*. When we turn from his idealizations to the works of Celsus so far as they are preserved in Origen's reply, the difference between the reality and the romance is naturally disappointing. About the same time the satirist Lucian in his life of Peregrinus, an apostate Philosopher, ridicules the simplicity and kindness of Christian professors. Porphyry, a philosopher of the Neo-Platonic School, wrote A.D. 270, "A Treatise against the Christians," in which he attacked the sacred writings and especially the genuineness of Daniel's prophecies which he supposed were written in the Maccabean age. This is the favourite theory of all Sceptics since the time of Porphyry, and of many who are not exactly Sceptics, but who find this the easiest method of cutting the knot of certain difficulties connected with that Book, but which really increases them. It is much to be regretted that the works of Celsus and Porphyry have been only partially preserved in the replies of Origen to Celsus and of Jerome to Porphyry. The replies of Methodius, Eusebius, and others, being also lost. Hierocles, Prefect of Bithynia, and afterwards of Alexandria, a learned man and cruel persecutor of the Christians under Dioclesian 308 A.D., revised Philostratus's life of Apollonius of Tyana, written about 210 A.D., and made use of the miracles attributed to this obscure philosopher as a ground for preferring him to Jesus Christ. The fragments of these and other writers have been preserved by Lardner in a copious analysis in his "Testimonies of Ancient Heathen," (Vol. 7 of his writings pp. 210 &c.) The influence of "the apologies" of Justin Martyn and others for Christianity is manifested in the altered tone of the defenders and expounders of Paganism, especially in their ingenious and elaborate attempts to rationalize its more palpable absurdities as "philosophical myths," and to tame down its Polytheism into something like a respectable and rational Theism. Thus the Pagan world was preparing to throw away its idols and to receive the teachings of Christ. Constantine found little difficulty in establishing Christianity as the state religion; his successors followed in his steps, the one exception being Julian (called the Apostate) the hero of Gibbon's earlier

volumes; his writings against Christianity are more satirical than critical or argumentative; they derive their importance mainly from the position of their author, and from the incidental light they throw upon the position of the Christian Church, and the gradually changing aspects of pagan and Christian Society. When in the fourth and fifth Centuries the barbarians from the North and East over-ran and destroyed the once mighty fabric of Roman power in the West, Christianity as a Church and its various institutions remained intact, and on the whole was rather benefitted and strengthened by the revolution which had changed every other relation of political and social life. It was the instrumental means by which all that was good in the Ancient Civilization was preserved for future generations, and it leavened by little and little the seething mass of barbarism with religious and intellectual light. The savage chieftains adopted the creed of the conquered, and Christianity became (nominally at least) the established faith of all the new barbarian kingdoms through all their changing dynasties to our day.

3. The eight centuries from the close of the fifth which witnessed the dissolution of the Western Empire of Rome, to the commencement of the fourteenth, from which we may date what is called the *Renaissance*, the revival of letters, comprize what Historians usually call "the Middle Ages" as intervening between barbarism and civilization. In the insolence of our advanced but somewhat unsound material and mental growth we often mis-call them "the Dark Ages." By a certain ecclesiastical party they are often lauded as the "Ages of Faith," of implicit, undoubted trust in Church Dogma, in which no doubt the essentials of Christian truth were taught—and something more. Of this transition period of growth in which the nations of Europe were raised by Christianity (as understood and carried out in the wise and uncompromising administration of the Romish Church) from barbarism to some perceptible amount of moral and intellectual culture, we are bound to speak with respect. We have no wish to ignore the beneficent influence of the organization of the Roman Catholic Church in the great work of the conversion of our barbarian ancestors, and in the re-construction of European society after the fall of the Roman Empire. It is pleasing to

notice that the protestant Guizot in his "History of Civilization in Europe," and yet more fully in his "History of Civilization in France," delights to acknowledge the debt which European society owes to the Romish Clergy of the Middle Ages, Catholic indeed but identified generally with their respective nationalities and as such opposed to the novel Ultramontane views of the recent Œcumenical Council. In the discipline of these eight centuries, mainly ecclesiastical in its character, the Western European became what he is and ever will be—a being quite distinct from the pagan Northman or Tartar from the wilds of Central Asia, to whom we may trace his ancestry—and yet more separate and farther still removed from the weak, submissive races of Southern Asia, to whom slavish dependence is a second nature. The faith of these ages, rested solely on authority, regarded all enquiry as sinful, denied the intellect its due share in the consideration of religious questions, and was therefore unfavourable to a healthy development of Christian character. Diversity of opinion and controversy the natural consequences of the exercise of free thought are necessary to the life of Christianity. Like the pool of Bethesda, the waters of which must first be agitated in order to draw out their healing powers, the human mind requires a succession of impulses from without to awaken its activities. The Crusades which united Christian Europe in one object from the 11th to the 13th Century, was one of these impulses, and helped to enlarge the mental horizon of the combattants who brought back with them from Asia aspirations after a higher civilization, and the germs of new ideas which in due time brought forth abundant fruit. The tendency to stagnancy of thought was also partially arrested in the middle ages by the controversies of the schoolmen from John Scotus Erigena 850—885 to Abelard 1075—1142, and so on to John Dunn Scotus 1265—1308; and by such theologians as Anselm 1030—1107, and St. Thomas Aquinas 1227—1274. To speak of these men and of their writings, in the language of Macaulay as "words, and mere words, and nothing but words"—"a sterile exuberance"—"a barren philosophy," is a shameful rhetorical exaggeration—these men with their "barren philosophy" raised and reared the thinkers

who generation after generation prepared the way for the intellectual outbreak of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The disentombing and editing of the Metaphysical discussions of the middle ages has not been deemed a trivial or fruitless task by some of the first continental scholars of this the Nineteenth Century, and their influence on our modern literature has been the subject of recent comment in our serials. In the later Schoolmen there are said to be traces of the influence of the pantheistic teachings engrafted on Aristotle by the Arabian Averrhoes 1149—1206; (a charge confirmed by Dr. Newman in his work on the Universities) through which some of the Jewish Rabbis, as well as Christian Doctors were led from orthodoxy to doubt. In doubt itself there can be no merit, but it has its uses when it is only preliminary to the arriving at that which is certain because true. The much quoted and equally misunderstood lines of our Laureat, "There lives more faith in honest doubt"—"than in half the Creeds," (Tennison "In Mem. xcv.") must not be wrested to excuse the indifference of an idle sensual class, void of all earnestness and sincerity, who long to cloak their dislike of serious continuous thought and of submission to law, under the non-dignified semblance of intellectual doubt. The poet's friend belongs to a different order of mind; he is "perplexed in faith," but "fought his doubts and gathered strength, faced these spectres of the mind and laid them." To all concerned we say "Go and do likewise." A visit to Doubting Castle may not have been unprofitable, but to choose it for a permanent dwelling is a serious error, against which our old John Bunyan warns us. To cultivate Doubt as an intellectual grace is the mistake of the weakest minds. Every intellectual spiritually minded man longs for the rest of faith so beautifully described by the beloved disciple. *We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life.* (1 John v. 20.)

4. The gradual though slow and almost imperceptible growth of intelligence in the European peoples of the South and West, is recognised from the beginning of the fourteenth century as the period of the "Revival of Letters," to which various events

in that century and the fifteenth century largely contributed. The invention of the art of printing A.D. 1450 probably at Mentz, the cultivation of the Greek language and literature by the dispersion of learned Greeks after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks 1453 A.D. gave an additional impulse to the cultivation and spread of literature and knowledge. It was not unaccompanied by outbreaks of religious dissatisfaction, even so early as the fourteenth century. The rage for the exclusive study of the classical authors was accompanied by a settled depreciation of all Ecclesiastical and Biblical Studies, and by some carried so far as to indicate a desire for the restoration of Pagan polytheism! Ranke quotes an Italian authority for the statement that, "No one passed in Italy for an accomplished man who did not entertain heretical opinions about Christianity." (History of the Popes, Vol. I. p. 74.) The philosophy of Aristotle and Plato usurped the place and authority of the New Testament, and worse than this, the pantheism of the oriental sages which had for centuries lurked in the Universities of France and Italy, was to some extent favoured by many of the learned, and afterwards produced its natural fruit in the writings of Bruno and Vanini in the 16th century. So early as 1486 the authorities at Mentz, where the art of printing was invented and first exercised, felt it necessary to impose a censorship on the Press lest "the Divine art of printing" should be abused to the injury of mankind. A lax latitudinarian unbelief, sometimes in the disguise of orthodoxy, and sometimes without such pretence, at that time, and in the beginning of the 16th century was all but universal in Rome and other Italian cities (see Ranke's History of the Popes, Vol. I.) In such a condition of religious and literary feeling the Reformation of the 16th century found the Churches of Christian Europe. All old beliefs were at once shaken, the very foundations were re-examined, men doubted whether truth and certainty could be found in any opinion, or utility in any old established institution. This unsettled feeling was increased by the enlarged views of the extent of the globe itself, and of the universe of which it forms an apparently insignificant portion. The Portuguese had in 1480 discovered the Cape of Good Hope and in 1497 had doubled that promontory, and accomplished the

direct passage to India, by which the trade of the East was secured to the European nations, and a few years before, in 1492, Columbus had discovered America, and had thus given a new world, not to Castile only but to Europe. In this century also Copernicus in his "Revolution of the Heavenly bodies," published 1542, explained the true theory of the Universe. All these new views tended to enlarge the narrow circle of men's thoughts and to discredit not only the cosmology, but all the time honored teachings of the old Schools, whether of Philosophy or Religion. Philosophical Scepticism naturally became the order of the day, among the literary and higher classes, and the masses though not liable to such philosophical influences, could not escape the infection of the lawlessness and irreverence for sacred things, which accompanies all large and sweeping changes in religious opinions. These were however for the most part temporary evils. On the whole, the change in the moral and intellectual character of the age was for the better. The minds of men were directed to the serious consideration of the relations of the Holy Scriptures to the creeds and ceremonials of the Churches, the great point at issue being whether the Scriptures were of themselves to be regarded as the Supreme authority in matters of Theological controversy, or the Church as the natural and authoritative interpreter of Scripture. All controversies as to the doctrines of the Churches were subordinate to this question of the authority of the Church. It is the fashion of a clique of literary men to treat with affected contempt not only the Schoolmen of the middle ages, but also the important Theological controversies of the primitive Church, and of the Reformation up to the close of the characteristic Puritan theology in the latter years of the 17th century. On one occasion Canning, following in the wake of Gibbon raised a laugh among the wits, and other loose members of the House of Commons by a reference to "the Theology of a diphthong," as represented in the "homocousian and homoiousian controversy," leaving upon the ignorant the impression that the labours of Bull, of Waterland, and others were beneath contempt! The Fathers and the Schoolmen have been judged by the repetition *ad nauseam* of the trivialities which may be found in their voluminous writings; and so with the Controversial

**Divinity of Germany and Holland, and the Puritan Divinity of England**, which a large class of our literary men (most of whom never read a line of it) condemn as useless and unreadable! forgetting, that while much of it may be irrelevant to the circumstances of the age in which we live, it deserves to be remembered with gratitude as containing a full discussion of all the great questions bearing upon our relations to God, and our duty to man, which at the time when first written, had no small influence on the religion and morals of Christian Europe.

5. **Biblical Criticism** has been affected by the controversies of the 16th century. The Romish and Protestant critics agree on points connected with their common Christianity, but differ in their treatment of the various questions, relating to the evidences, the canon, and the interpretation of Scripture. There are extreme views advocated by Protestant divines, and embodied in the Confessions of the Protestant Churches of the 16th century, with which the more scriptural views and wider scholarship of the 19th century cannot concur, any more than in the Decrees of the Council of Trent of the 16th century, or in the syllabus of Pío Nono put forth in his Encyclical, 8th December, 1864. Very soon after that great religious crisis the Reformation, and as a natural consequence of the relaxation of the previous intellectual bondage, we hear of the first whisper of what the advanced minds of our day call "Free thought," in the Epistle dedicatory to a work entitled "Christian Instruction," written by Peter Viret, a Protestant Swiss Minister, A.D. 1563; he refers to "certain men who call themselves Deists, a new word in opposition to that of Atheists." (See Leland's *View of Deistical Writers*, Vol. I. p. 2, or Bayles *Historical and Critical Dicty*. Article Viret.) No doubt this Deism on the Continent and in England was the natural resistance of the intellect and heart against the assumptions of the generally received dogma of the Protestant Churches, especially in its extreme Calvinistic or rather Augustinian aspect, considered apart from the other truths with which in all systems of Theology it is connected. It is singular that this Calvinistic Theology has always been united with Evangelical truth and strict Orthodoxy, and often with a deep spiritual experience as well as outward exhibition of the graces of the Christian character. Modern Calvinism

if more inconsistent and illogical than that of the past century is by far the more reconcilable with moral feeling ; for instance Dr. Awater (in the Princeton review, 1875) regards " the Divine foreordination or predestination of all events, in a manner and within limits exclusive of fatalism, but inclusive of the contingency of second causes, and the freedom of rational and accountable creatures." No doubt in some such sense the Calvinists of the 16th and following centuries understood their creed, but it was not so understood by outsiders. The danger of our Churches in the 19th century is not Calvinism but its opposite Pelagianism. Protestant Theology in the 16th and 17th centuries was necessarily Polemical, and it was not the fashion of that day while contending even for doubtful points to " speak the truth in love." Good loving men when drawn out as hot Theologians too often were betrayed into the spirit of those who were ready to call down fire from heaven on all opponents. The toleration of dissidents from Established Churches, or of opinions differing from those of the dominant Church or sect was for generations after the Reformation regarded as a sin. A modified toleration was not secured in England until after the revolution of 1688. Free and full liberty to teach through the Press has only been fully established in our day. It is the singular and distinctive honor of the Baptist Churches to have defended from their earliest history the rights of conscience. Not one sentence in all their writings is to be found inconsistent with the principles of religious liberty, now dear to all Protestant Churches. Leonard Busher, a Baptist, citizen of London, had the honour of being its first advocate in England (1610 A.D.) Next to the Baptists are the Independents. John Goodwin, Minister of Coleman Street, in 1644 advocated toleration in the fullest and most unshackled degree. Milton, in November, 1644, published his " Areopagitica," in defence of the freedom of the press. Jeremy Taylor, his " Liberty of Prophesying," 1647. After which our philosopher John Locke, his treatise on Toleration, but none of these great men have in their advocacy of this important principle excelled their independent fore-runner, John Goodwin ; his life by Thomas Jackson, (8vo. 1822 and 1872,) is one of the most valuable contributions to the history of the religious controversies of the 17th



century, of which, and of the general Ecclesiastical History of that period, Dr. Stoughton's noble and impartial work is the most full and fascinating record (See Ecclesiastical History of the Civil Wars, of the Commonwealth, of the Restoration, and of the Revolution, 5 vols. 8vo. 1867—1874.)

6. The first of English Deists according to Dr. Leland, (Leland's View of Deistical Writers, Vol. I. pp. 1 to 35) was Lord Herbert Baron of Cherbury, elder brother of the pious poet, George Herbert, a name dear to the Church of England, and to all Christians. Lord Herbert is called by Robert Hall, "the first and purest of our English Free Thinkers." The difficulty which was the stumbling block and stone of offence to him arose out of the narrow dogma of the Augustinian Calvinistic Theology of the Church of that age; this is well and clearly put by the Rev. John Hunt in his "Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the end of last Century," (Vol. I. p. 443.) "In his time, the religious world was divided into two parties, which seemed to him about equally irrational, and both as corrupters of simple Christianity. These were the Sacerdotalists who suspended all on the Church, and the Puritans who resolved the everlasting condemnation of the greater portion of the human race into the mere will of God. If there is no salvation out of the Church, if God has left it to depend on the mere accident of being baptized by a properly ordained priest, or on having received the other sacrament according to certain prescribed rites and ceremonies, where is the goodness, not to say the justice of God towards the heathen, and those who are out of the pale of the Church? And if He is good and merciful and just, how can He take pleasure in the eternal reprobation of them to whom He never even offered salvation?" His system of philosophical religion is developed in his works, "*de Veritate*," "*de causis errorum*," "*de religione Laici*," and "*de religione Gentilium*," published from 1624 to 1663 A.D. The Sceptics of our day, must regard him as a weak unbeliever, not far advanced beyond the theological mind of his age, for he believed in the possibility of Divine illumination, and was convinced that he himself had been favoured with a sign from heaven, expressive of the Divine approbation of the Book "*de Veritate*," which he was about to

publish. He nowhere professed opposition to Christianity or revealed religion, but desires to have the morals without the facts and doctrines, and thus have a universal religion in which all men could agree. The four articles are (1) There is one Supreme God. (2) That He is chiefly to be worshipped. (3) Piety and Virtue the principal parts of His worship. (4) That we must repent of our sins, and if we do so God will pardon them. (5) That there are rewards for good men, and punishments for bad men in a future state. These truths he regards as inscribed by God on the minds of all men and universally acknowledged. Baxter, Locke, and Whitby replied to Herbert, but the most valuable criticism upon his scheme, and of the claims of what is called Natural Religion, (in spite of some narrowness and unnecessary dogmatism,) was written by Thomas Halyburton, Professor of Divinity, in St. Andrew's; a man whose remarkable "Christian experience" ought to be familiar to all Wesleyans, as it was reprinted in 1740, by John Wesley: his work is entitled, "Natural Religion insufficient and Revealed necessary to man's happiness," (4to 1714.) Thomas Hobbes 1583—1679 of Malmesbury, is sometimes reckoned among the English Deists, owing no doubt to the tendency of the *Leviathan*, and other writings, slavish in their teachings and opposed to all English notions of either civil or religious liberty. But he professed a belief in Christianity; his remarks on the historical books of the Old Testament identify him with the advanced School of Biblical Criticism. In the advocacy of the principle of authority he was (as Warburton remarks) "the terror of his age," and was honoured with replies from Lord Clarendon, and the two Archbishops Tension and Bramhall. His metaphysical writings have found admirers in our day, and have been edited by Sir W. Molesworth (11 vols. 8vo. 1839—45.) A succession of Deistical advocates appeared in the last half of the Seventeenth Century, Blount, Tindal, Woolston, Toland, Collins, Morgan, Chubb, Dodwell, and Annet, the latter in the eighteenth century. A full account of their works may be found in Leland's *Deistical Writers* (2 Vols. 8vo.) and a very fair, perhaps too partial and apologetic an estimate of their views in that valuable and most readable book "*Hunt's Religious Thought in England*," (Vol. 2nd and 3rd, 8vo. 1871.)

The main points maintained sometimes in a reverential spirit by these writers were the sufficiency of Natural Religion, the falsity or deficiency of proof, and the non-necessity of the Revelation of God's will in the Scripture, and the impossibility of miracles; in fact the usual objections common to all the Sceptical School, and which have been re-iterated with much greater ability, and with all the advantages of deeper learning, and a more extensive acquaintance with the vagaries of human thought by the doubters of this generation. In the then imperfect and narrow education of the middle classes, (not yet greatly improved,) and through the influence of the prejudices against religion created by both High Church and Puritan excesses, and wordy controversies, these writings had for more than a generation a large circulation and considerable weight with a respectable class of readers, especially as many of those who replied to them were by no means fully competent to the task. The statement in the advertisement to Bishop Butler's "Analogy of Religion," (1736) that "by many persons Christianity is not so much a subject for enquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious," is no doubt an exaggeration of the feeling prominent in certain circles and so far has some foundation in fact. About this time 1753—6, the witty Lord Chesterfield in the *World*, (a series of popular essays) ridiculed the prevalent unthinking and silly scepticism in his well known satire, "The Creed of the Free Thinkers," which we give as applicable to our day, and which one cannot help thinking of as we read certain articles in the *Contemporary*, the *Fortnightly*, the *19th Century*, and other serials, all of which (say what they will) either belong to the school of unrest or pander to its unhealthy cravings. Here it is for the benefit of those who never understood and never believed in the Apostle's Creed.

"I believe that there is no God, but that matter is God, and God is matter, and that it is no matter whether there is any God or not."

"I believe also that the world was not made: that the world made itself, that it had no beginning, that it will last for ever, world without end."

"I believe that a man is a beast, that the soul is the body, and the body is the soul, and that after death there is neither body nor soul."

"I believe that there is no religion, that natural religion is the only religion, and that all religion is unnatural."

"I believe not in Moses: I believe in the first philosophy, I believe not the Evangelists, I believe in Chubb, Collins, Toland, Tindal, Morgan, Mandeville, Woolston, Hobbes, Shaftesbury: I believe in Lord Bolingbrook, I believe not St. Paul."

"I believe not Revelation, I believe in Tradition, I believe in the Talmud, I believe in the Alcoran, I believe not the Bible, I believe in Socrates, I believe in Confucius, I believe in Soncianiathon, I believe in Mahomet, I believe not in Christ."

Lastly, "I believe in all unbelief."

7. Besides these minor Free-thinkers, now almost forgotten, we have to refer to three names which have left their mark on the 17th and 18th Century. Lord Shaftesbury 1671—1733, Lord Bolingbroke 1678—1751, and David Hume 1738—1751. What Lord Shaftesbury's fixed opinions really were is difficult to say—they all tended to unsettle believers rather than to deny the truths of Revelation. There are two remarks of his one already well known, the other worth knowing, the first—"Ridicule is the test of truth," which no one seriously believes—the other, that religion is "still a discipline and a progress of the soul towards perfection," alluded to by a recent writer as an anticipation of Lessing's similar remark in his "Education of the World." "The Characteristics," are now little read, though occasionally quoted. Of Lord Bolingbroke, it is difficult to speak—the contrast between the brilliancy of his intellect, and the hypocrisy and meanness of his character is so painful. Professing the most ardent zeal for Christianity and love for the established Church, while disbelieving its doctrines! concealing his peculiar views while living, yet as Dr. Johnson rightly puts it, "loading his blunderbus, and leaving David Mallett his literary executor, to fire it off after his death." His letters on History are from first to last, an attack on the Jewish and Christian religion; they with his other works are seldom read by the men of this generation. Whatever influence he and Shaftesbury exercise upon the men of our day, is through the

didactic poem, Pope's "Essay on Man," the philosophy of which diluted by Lord Bolingbroke, from Spinoza, is however generally unnoticed in the melody and rythm of the vesification. In David Hume we recognise another man altogether. Hunt remarks with truth, that "Bolingbroke was the most worthless, Hume the most sagacious of all the Deists." His Deism was rather that of a pagan "Philosopher of the Porch," than of an Anti-Christian. Amid his philosophical discussions and metaphysical sophistries and subtleties, there is so much right feeling and good sense that one cannot but think that if he had been capable of deep feeling and moral earnestness, and had been made to understand the Gospel, he would have become a Christian. Another man has been classed as a covert ally, if not an open professor of Deism—a name which on many accounts deserves to be mentioned with respect, that of Conyers Middleton, a clergyman, a shrewd, acute, and courageous controversialist, not afraid of the great critic Bentley, and ready to break a lance with the dignitaries of his Church on points of Divinity or Church History. His best work is his "Letter from Rome," (1729) on the Conformity of Paganism and Popery which is republished about every 20 years, and is a most readable and able production; but another work equally learned, his "Free enquiry into the Miraculous powers," supposed to have subsisted in the Church in the early ages, first published 1748, though generally in accordance with the convictions of most of the intelligent Christians of the 19th Century, was warmly opposed a century ago, by the clergy and laity of all denominations. In the willingness to give up facts, some of which were properly deemed necessary positions of the outworks of the defences of Christianity, Middleton resembled that loving and good man Dean Stanley (minus the amenities and graces of the Christian temper, in which he was lamentably deficient.) Like the Dean he lived an example (not to be imitated) of how indifferent a man may be to what is called "Christian Dogma," and yet retain, after a peculiar fashion, his belief in Christianity.

8. One result of the Deistical writings was the calling into existence a series of replies, some of which though now little read remain powerful defences of Revealed religion against Deistical

objections. In the controversies of the 19th century they have small place, as the adversaries of Revealed Religion have changed their ground, and have of course adopted a different mode of attack. Among these Christian advocates and apologists we may mention Bishops Stillingfleet, Sherlock, Smalbroke, and yet a greater Bishop, Butler. Bentley, the famous Critic, Sam Clarke, the Defender of Natural Religion, Lord Lyttleton who wrote on the Apostleship of St. Paul, West on the resurrection, Leslie in his short and easy method with the Deists: G. Campbell and Beattie of the Church of Scotland. Isaac Watts, Howe, Lardner, Leland, and Doddridge, all of them Magnates of Dissent. Some of these treatises are included in the Collection of Evidences of Christianity, 5 vols. 8vo. 1815—7. The works of Paley belong to a later period of our history. Our Sceptics tell us sometimes. "We are tired of your Lardners and Paleys, and Butlers, they do not reach our case—they do not satisfy us." Our answer is they *ought* to satisfy candid enquirers so far as the external evidences of Christianity are in dispute, and *would*, if carefully read and weighed; they are not specially adapted to grapple with the infidelity of the heart, which requires another sort of treatment. In the last century, as now, the spread of Infidelity arose from causes beyond the reach of argumentative treatises. The disease was a spiritual one—the deadness of the Churches. Sermons which are now found to be unreadable were no doubt felt to be un-hearable. Christian congregations were as the valley of dry bones described by the Prophet, *No life in them very dry*. (Ezekiel 37 ch.) Nothing short of a powerful revival of spiritual experimental religion could meet the case. To use the words of Hunt, Vol. 3 p. 395 :—"The last echoes of the Deistical controversy had not ceased when it was rumoured that Wesley and Whitfield were attracting to the Churches crowds of people who professed to realise in themselves the truths of that religion which the Deists were said to have assailed." Christianity was to them not only a Faith but an Experience. We are to *taste and see that the Lord is good*. (Psalm xxxiv. 8) and this personal experience is the abiding satisfying evidence within us. *He that believeth, hath the witness in himself*, (John v. 10.) Hence the English Deism left no permanent mark on the

mass of the population. It never had a hold on the people, and was chiefly influential among the wits of the coffee house, the soirees of the fashionable and the studies of some of the learned. Unbelief among the masses withered under the warmth of revived religious feeling through the labours of the Methodists, which affected not only the Dissenters, but the clergy of the Establishment, from among whose ranks the Evangelicals as distinct from the dry High Church clergy, formed a very considerable, influential and valuable body within the pale of the Establishment itself. It would, however, be unjust to leave the impression that the revival of religious feeling in the Church of England was owing to Methodism, popularly so called, existing beyond the pale of the English Church; on the contrary, the Methodist Churches, Wesleyan, Calvinistic, and others, are obviously the result of a movement on the part of certain clergymen, which was called by opponents, Methodism, and to which the Wesleys and Whitfield were parties. There had been a previous movement, a practical protest against the Latitudinarian Theology of Tillotson, Warburton, and Hoadley, and the laxity of the Clergy, on the part of certain associations, called Religious Societies, formed in 1678, by young men connected with the congregations of Dr. Horneck and another Clergyman. These meetings held weekly, for reading, prayer, &c., were the precursors of the Methodist Class Meetings, (though not the occasion which called them forth). To these Societies, purely spiritual in their object, and quite independent of all Nonconformity and Methodism, the Evangelical Clergy may trace their origin—a more illustrious one than the delusive notion of what is called Apostolic succession, at second hand, through a questionable channel. No doubt the labours of the Wesleys and Whitfield had no small effect upon the Clergy and congregations of the Establishment—but the fire by which the Church was warmed, had been kindled in its own precincts. So much for the justification of the genuine Church of Englandism of the Evangelical Clergy; their gospel teaching was the salt which saved that Church from corruption; they were the men whose labours and earnest piety did much to preserve it as an establishment. It would be amusing if it were not too painful to observe the attempts of their High Church and

Broad Church brethren, to decry their past and present influence, and to deny the obligations of their Church to them. Could any man of the great Church parties, now living, or any number of them have accomplished the work of the men of spiritual power—the early and later Evangelical Leaders? Think of such men as Shirley, Perronet, the Hills, Berridge, Grimshaw, Toplady, Hervey, Romaine, Stillingfleet, (Hotham) J. Venn, (Huddersfield) Bull, John Newton, John Scott, Richard Cecil, Simeon, (Cambridge) the Milners, S. Walker, (Truro) J. Venn, (Clapman) Bishop Wilson and Henry Venn (of the Church Missionary Society.) Let no man revelling in the wider range of the mental horizon of this 19th century, attempt to call these apostolical men “narrow!” We might not agree in all their Theological views, but there are two sorts of narrowness, one to which we are all prone, arising out of ignorance and prejudice; the other, which is the result of the absorption of mind and feeling, and the concentration of effort on one great point in order to ensure one great object. Was Richard Cecil narrow? when he wrote, “Hell is before me—Jesus Christ stands forth to save men: He sends me to proclaim his ability and his love: I want no fourth idea—every fourth idea is contemptible—every fourth idea is a grand impertinence,” (Remains). So also St. Paul, (Phillip iii. 13). *This one thing I do—I press towards the mark*—and again (1 Cor. ii. 2) *I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified*. The excesses of the French Revolution 1793—6 led to a re-action in favour of Orthodoxy among the higher and middle classes of society. The influence of these classes enforced at least the observance of the decencies and outward forms of Religion. Scepticism lost every vestige of respectability, and soon became the degraded thing represented by the low but vigorous writings of Tom Paine. It is however much to be lamented that upon the English Literature of the 18th Century, the Deism of the literary coteries has left its cankerous stain. Hume’s History of England 1754—61, and Robertson’s Scotland, Charles 5 &c., 1753—77. Gibbons Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 1776—88, works as imperishable as our Literature, worthy predecessors of the great Historical writers of this century, all of



them even now, exercising an Anti-Christian influence on the thoughts of the rising generation, not by their direct inculcation of Infidel principles, an offence against good taste of which these great writers were generally incapable, but by the absence of all reference to the Christian high standard of motives and principles, Hume and Gibbon made no secret of their unbelief. The severe and caustic remarks of the learned Porson upon Gibbon, are true to the letter but cannot be quoted here. Robertson, a Presbyterian Minister, was not an unbeliever, but fearful of exposing himself to the ridicule of his sceptical friends by any outbreak of religious zeal. The literary atmosphere of England would have been far more pure and spiritual had these inimitable writers entered into the spirit of the thoughtful, profound Christian philosophy of the great French Historian Guizot, especially manifested in his History of Civilization in Europe and in France. The latter part of the Eighteenth century was not fruitful in Sacred Criticism, but from the beginning of the present century there have been a series of Sceptical Biblical Critics, and critics of the advanced and Broad Church School, as Kalish, S. Davidson, Rowland Williams, Donaldson, F. W. Newman, Gregg, the Essays and Reviews, Bishop Colenso and others. Their views will substantially come before us, in the third and following lectures.

9. England is but a small, though a very important province of the European commonwealth. The continental thinkers claim for themselves a more advanced position in philosophical studies, and in critical investigations. Before these speculators can be properly classified as either of French or German nationality, there are certain great names to the influence of whose teaching, the philosophy and criticism of both these countries may be traced. Descartes, (1637—74) well known for his maxim oft repeated, "I think, therefore I am," whose system's both of physical and mental philosophy were founded on assumed *a priori* principles. The devout Malebranche, a disciple of Descartes, published in 1674, his work on "Truth," which is considered by able Metaphysicians, to be logically but a half-way house between Descartes and Spinoza. What a philosopher may mean, and what he is able to impress as his meaning upon others are two different things.

From the imperfection of human language it is difficult for the most Orthodox writers, especially in Religious Poetry or Hymnology, to keep clear of phrases which savour of Pantheism. Witness among others, Dante, Keble, Wesley, &c. ; a lesson to Christian Critics not to make a man an offender, on account of a careless word or expression—nor to mistake metaphor for logic. Spinoza, a Dutch Jew, alienated from the faith of his fathers by the study of Maimonides and of Avez Ezra, the rationalistic Rabbi of the 12th Century, was the founder of a philosophical system, Pantheistic in its nature, fascinating in its influence over the speculative thinking of his own and future ages, 1660—1670. His work, *Tractatus Theologico Politicus*, has special reference to Biblical Criticism, and as it contains the germ of the advanced views of the Sceptical Critics of the 19th Century, he may be regarded as the founder of the "Higher Criticism." Spinoza himself was a sincere Theist, leading a self-denying and blameless life; he has been absurdly villified on account of the tendency of his system, of which he seems to have been unconscious, and with equal unreasonableness has been lauded to the skies as "the God—intoxicated Spinoza," by his admirers. Herder and Schleiermacher claim him as a Christian. His language is often all but orthodox in speaking of Christ as "the Eternal Wisdom of God," "the Way of Salvation," but obviously in a sense which can only be understood by adepts in his philosophy. (Hunt's *Pantheism* 8vo. pp. 214—240.) In an article in the *Edinburgh Review* (January 1863, No. 239) we find two remarks worth preserving in this connection—one on Spinoza's Philosophy which applies to all philosophy of the intuitive and priori school. "What can be expected from an endeavour like Spinoza's to reduce a theory of the Infinite from his own intuitive conceptions." The other equally true. "It is no small tribute to the influence of Christianity that such a man should have been almost though not altogether a Christian." The same remark applies to many enlightened and philanthropic men of our day, who admire the moral teaching and loving sympathies of Christianity, but who cannot receive the one grand truth, the hope of the world, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. The offence of the Cross, is now as 1800 years ago—*To the Jews*

*a stumbling block, to the Greeks foolishness.* (1 Cor. i. 23.) On Father Simon 1678, and Le Clerc 1685, and Peter Bayle 1681-96, we may trace the influence of Spinoza's philosophy though they were opposed to its logical results. The two former are remarkable for their free enquiries in Biblical criticism, and the latter for his all but universal scepticism. Bayles's Dictionary Historical and Critical, 3 vols. 1696 (the English edition 5 vols. folio) is a storehouse of sceptical stimulants, praised by Voltaire as "the book which teaches a young man to think," by which he meant to doubt. The work is useful for reference as it is a lumber-room of curious and for the most part useless literature. Except for its studied and obtrusive indelicacy it would be a very innocuous work. Leibnitz, the German philosopher, remembered best by his theory of "Monads" and "Pre-established harmony" was the opponent of what philosophers now call "Pessimism"; he wrote his "Theodicée" in reply to some of Bayles's speculations. In this he endeavours to explain the origin of evil and the perfection of the divine administration in human affairs, an attempt beyond the limits of the human understanding, which exposed him to the ridicule of Voltaire, whose romance of "Candide" is a continuous laugh at the "*best of possible worlds* of Mons. Leibnitz!" To Leibnitz, however, we are indebted for a correction in the shape of an addition to the oft quoted maxim of the sensual philosophy, "Nihil in intellectu quid non fuerit in sensu," (Nothing in the intellect which was not first in the senses)—to this he added "nisi ipse intellectus," (except the intellect itself) and by this addition "spread a new light over intellectual philosophy" in the opinion of Sir James Mackintosh. We may add to these the writings of our great philosopher John Locke (1690-1706), whose theory of the origin of our ideas through sensation, and his opposition to the then favourite theory of "Innate Ideas," seemed to refer the origin of all our knowledge to sensation. This misinterpretation of Locke has been general both in England and on the Continent, where he has been regarded as one of the founders of the modern Sensualistic School of Philosophy. From this stigma he has been successfully vindicated by Thomas E. Webb in his treatise on "the Intellectualism of Locke," (8vo. 1837). Berkeley, whose ideal

philosophy, 1710-32 is by no means forgotten or neglected, together with Hobbes, Shaftesbury, and the old English Deists exercised no small influence over Continental thought and speculation. We may now treat of the progress of sceptical views and criticism in France and Germany separately.

10. In France, the scepticism of which Viret complained in 1563, spread covertly among the learned; a natural reaction against the dogmas and excesses of the Romish and Protestant Churches, and from the injurious effects of the religious wars and excited intolerant sectarian feeling. Montaigne's *Essays* (1563) are an unconscious admission of doubt and something more. La Peyrere wrote a defence of Pre-adamitism 1655, and Pascal, Huet, and Abbadie replied to Bayles's sophisms (1670-84). The writings of Fontenelle and his contemporaries 1686 were mainly in their tendency unsettling, so also Montesquieu 1721-1748, though not professedly opposed to Christianity. French infidelity derives its power and peculiar character from one man, Voltaire, the patriarch of doubt, the literary infallible Pope of Frenchmen, and with reason, judging from a French point of view; and it is only from that point of view we can do justice to one aspect of Voltaire's life and writings. He was born in 1694, became a writer by the power of his unrestrainable genius. Visiting England in 1726, he became acquainted with the writings of Bolingbroke, and the English Deists. One of his admiring biographers informs us that "from the armoury of these dead and unread freethinkers," he drew "the weapons which he made sharp with the mockery of his own spirit" (Morley p. 88.) This we much doubt, neither do we think with Ueberweg (*History of Philosophy*, Vol. II. p. 184) that he was chiefly led by the facts of Modern Astronomy (as revealed by Newton) to the conviction that the dogmatic teachings of the Church were untrue. It is not probable either that the so-called sensationalism of Locke's philosophy undermined his orthodoxy; the common sense view of the case is that the Romanism of the continent with its abject superstition, and Protestantism with its hard and dry unspiritual, unsympathizing theology had already predisposed a keen wit, unattached to any school of faith, to that hearty enmity against revealed religion, which was the leading characteristic of his

literary career. It is remarkable that almost every Frenchman of note connected with the Revolution of 1789-93, had either visited England, or had been a student of English literature. We cannot deny the fact which Morley puts forward somewhat exultingly, that "Protestantism was *indirectly* the means of creating and dispersing an atmosphere of rationalism, in which there speedily sprang up philosophical, theological and political influences, all of them entirely antagonistic to the old order of thought and institutions," (p. 89). Protestantism is not the only good thing, the blessings of which may be misused in the interests of evil. From 1726 to 1778 the life of this extraordinary man was with some few exceptions devoted to the literature of unrest and unbelief. Guizot's remarks are valuable as those of an experienced Christian philosopher, historian and statesman, and who as a Frenchman was not disposed to depreciate the glory of modern French literature. (History of France, vol. v. p. 291-2.) "The avowed materialistic theories revolted his shrewd and sensible mind: he sometimes withstood the anti-religious passions of his friends, but he blasted both minds and souls with his sceptical gibes; his bitter and at the same time temperate banter disturbed consciences which would have been revolted by the doctrines of the encyclopediasts: the circle of infidelity widened under his hands: his disciples were able to go beyond him on the fatal path he had opened to them. Voltaire has remained the true representative of the mocking and stone flinging phase of free thinking, knowing nothing of the deep yearnings any more than of the supreme wretchedness of the human soul which it kept imprisoned within the narrow limits of earth and time. After the Revolution, it was the infidelity of Voltaire which remained at the bottom of the scepticism and moral disorder of the France of our day. The demon which torments her is even more Voltairian than materialistic." Voltaire's *direct* attacks on Christianity are found in the "Philosophical Dicty.," 1764, in his "Essai sur les Meurs et l'esprit des Nations" (1756), which with other of his historical works, Lord Chesterfield so earnestly recommended to his son as an example of the way in which history should be written! It is a clever sketch of the world's history, occasionally incorrect in details, and miserably narrow in its speculations, displaying an ignorance

and misconception of the Medieval ages, arising out of his Parisian tastes, and consequent want of all intellectual and moral sympathy with that period of transition between the old Classic world and the Europe of modern times. It was made interesting to the Sceptical reader by the sarcastic remarks on revelation and its supposed absurdities and contrarities. Few Englishmen of this generation have read it; the translation made of it nominally by Smollet (1761—9) and another a few years afterwards (1779—80) have never been re-printed. In fact all the wit, and what there is of beauty, elegance and finish in the French original, evaporates in the translation. It is but right to give Voltaire credit for his advocacy of the rights of humanity, justice and freedom; occasionally he had glimpses of religious feeling, witness the following lines from his poem, *La Loi Naturelle*—

O God whom men ignore, whom everything reveals,  
Hear thou the latest words of him who now appeals:  
'Tis searching out Thy law, that hath bewildered me;  
My heart may go astray, but it is full of Thee.

One cannot help lamenting the one sided action of this great man's power of sarcasm and ridicule, unequalled since the days of Aristophanes. Had it been confined to the exposure of the false in religion, and in social life; and had his moral sense and his faculty of discerning between the good and the evil in the Christianity of his day, been equal to his ability to expose and hold up to derision that which was faulty, and had his marvellous influence been consecrated to sustain and commend that which was true and beneficial in the ecclesiastical and civil institutions of France, the religious, social, and political condition of that country, and of Europe generally, might have been very different from its present state. It is a singular fact that while Lord Chesterfield and others of his clan and caste perceived clearly the tendency of the new philosophy to change the political regime in France, and foresaw the near approach of the great catastrophe of 1789—93, Voltaire seems to have had no such forebodings, his mission seemed to him confined to the higher and literary classes, to put down superstition, and bad taste, and to correct glaring social evils. Of social reforms bearing upon the elevation of the masses, and of political changes of a radical and revolutionary character he had no conception, except as philosophical reveries, altogether

beyond the sphere of practical politics. The great work of the Sceptical Literati, the famous "Encyclopedia" 28 vols., with supplement of 6 vols., edited by Diderot and D'Alembert (1751—1777) received contributions from Voltaire, Holbach, Grimm, Rousseau, and others. Guizot describes it as "unequal and confused, a medley of various and oft ill assorted elements undertaken for, and directed to the fixed end of an aggressive emancipation of thought." This is a fair description of a work which was at first regarded with suspicion by ecclesiastics and rulers, but which our more educated and rational age looks upon as comparatively harmless. This publication, with the Natural History of Buffon, made Science a means of spreading Infidelity among the educated classes not only in France, but in all Europe. Morelly 1755, Holbach 1770, Condillac 1746—64, Helvetius 1758, advocated the sensualistic school of philosophy as that most consistent with Atheism. Rousseau 1760—2 in his sentimental Deism and impracticable political, and social theories, did his part towards the obliteration of old principles and current lines of thought. Of the French Sceptics, from the Revolution to the present time, it is unnecessary to particularize, as they are all more or less of the school of Voltaire, minus his ability and wit. Comte, the father of the Positivist creed and his followers at present represent sceptical thought in France. Of Renan, the proper time to notice his remarkable writings will be when we come to the Criticism of the New Testament.

11. In Germany especially, we may ascribe the origin and gradual growth of Scepticism, and its strong hold upon the learned classes to the re-action against the Confessions of Faith and the Dogmas of the Lutheran and Calvinistic Theology, which in their narrowness and exclusiveness surpassed those of all other Protestant Churches. Theological controversy tended to destroy the spirituality and practical character of Protestantism. It drove rational men from Orthodoxy in belief, and led the way to a depraving laxity of practice. The Theosophists Paracelsus, Weigel and Jacob Böhme 1550—1620 are proofs of the reaction against dogma in favour of cloudy speculation. The miseries of the thirty years war 1618—1648 were felt not only in the economical condition of Germany, but in the yet further decay

of religious principle, morals, and education. An ineffectual attempt by Callixtus, Dursæus and Hartlib 1620—56 to reconcile the Protestant Churches to each other, and with the Romish Church helped more the cause of religious indifference than of Christian charity, for Syncretism is rather the philosophy of politicians than of Churches. Men in that day as in this found it less difficult to be careless in matters of belief, than to enter the polemical arena to contend for logical niceties in Religious truth, the bearing of which they could not clearly see. The teachings of Spinoza as interpreted by the vulgar bore fruit early. In 1674, a number of tracts were circulated in Jena, by an obscure fanatic advocating "the apotheosis of conscience—no God, no Devil." The two latter points are favourite topics with men of that class even now. Professor Musæus, the opponent of Spinoza, effectually answered these ravings. A revival of religion under Spener and Francke 1675—1730, to which ecclesiastical writers have given the name of Pietism, for a brief period drew the attention of Christians from controversy to the more important points of Christian experience and practice. Bengel, one of the soundest of New Testament Biblical Critics, was of this school 1687—1752. The Deism of England as exhibited in what are called "the Wolfenbüttel fragments," was sown broadcast over Germany 1774—8, and gave an additional impulse to Rationalism in Biblical Criticism. These were in all seven treatises written by Reimarns, a teacher in Hamburg, who had died 1768. He had been disgusted with the popular Calvinistic Theology, and had step by step disowned the authority of the Revealed word. The excitement which followed the publication of these "fragments," was similar to that which in Germany in this generation followed the appearance of Strauss's "Leben Jesu," and in England, the publication of Bishop Colenso on the Pentateuch; the alarm of the Orthodox being in both cases equally discreditable to their intelligence and faith. Lessing himself the Editor did not approve of the doctrines of the Fragments. If not an orthodox believer, he was "an almost Christian," but a "broad and advanced" one. In one of his replies to an opponent, he remarks that the Jewish and Christian Churches existed before their Sacred Writings were composed, and that



consequently the Churches themselves were independent of the documents; all this is true, but he ignores the importance of a written revelation as a record and an evidence, as well as necessary to the conservation of the truth revealed. A favourite maxim of his was, that the pursuit of truth is of far greater importance in the education of the race, than the knowledge of the truth itself; hence in accordance with this sentiment his avowed object in the publication of writings not in exact accordance with his own convictions, was to put in motion, to resuscitate into life and activity the theology of the age, and this he certainly effected; for from this time the Theology and Criticism of Germany, whatever may have been their deficiencies in other respects have not been wanting in the interest which is excited by novelty and variety. German speculation never rests satisfied long with what is technically called "the latest result of modern thought," (which our critical Sceptics proudly receive as the latest Gospel). On the contrary it is always bringing forth some new thing; novelty succeeds novelty, as in a series of dissolving views, ephemeral and shadowy, which fade into nothingness as we attempt to give definiteness to their fleeting forms. Lessing was one of the most able of German philosophers: his treatises on the "Education of the human race," and other writings of his, exhibit a remarkable grasp and depth of thought, accompanied by high moral feeling. In judging the German literary and philosophical men of the 18th Century, we must not forget to notice the general irreligiousness, hypocrisy and disgusting licentiousness and coarseness of many of the Royal and princely families at that time, by which the moral tone of all classes was sensibly affected. In the so called Protestant governing families, religion was merely a matter of policy. Even the Electress Sophia, grand-daughter of our James I., selected by the English Parliament as a specially orthodox Protestant to maintain the Protestant succession and Church as by Law established, was herself altogether destitute of religious belief! and her unmarried daughter was not permitted to belong to any Church, until the religion of her future husband had been ascertained!

12. In no one thing is the influence of national character more apparent than in the varied fortunes of Sceptical thought in

England, France, and Germany. The old English Deists were for the most part religiously in earnest. In France, Infidelity became a mere fashion, a flippant thing, a mere outbreak of intellectual flatulency, or as Carlyle would say, a windbag. But in Germany, Scepticism became identified with its Philosophy; a Philosophy in which the nation gradually invested the larger portion of its intellectual capital. To think and to doubt began to be considered as terms naturally synonymous; the thought and consequently the literature and philosophy of Germany henceforth with some exceptions had one characteristic, that of unrest—a profitless activity—a ceaseless gyration, motion, but no progress, the mind ever seeking, but never arriving at a serious conviction of truth. And while in England and France the philosophical systems had no perceptible influence upon the faith of the Churches or upon Biblical Criticism, it was otherwise in Germany. The education of the people in its various grades from the lower to the higher schools, has been practically under the influence of the teachings of the University of the State. And thus Scepticism instead of being a literary plaything as in England, became in Germany poison for the schools in which young Germany is trained. And here we may remark that the complaints of Infidel teaching by Schoolmasters in the schools for the lowest as well as the middle classes, which is found in Rose's "State of Protestantism in Germany," (8vo. 1829, pp. 174—8,) applies to the present time to a much greater extent than is supposed. Recent demonstrations, (March 1878,) of Atheistical Communists in Berlin are the result of the so called "philosophy" of the School Teachers. Now that *property* is endangered, the rulers of Germany may find it wise to cease to patronize the sophistical teachings which defy, not only Divine, but Human Laws. In Italy also there is no religious teaching in the schools—the priest is excluded, and this is enough "for the Liberals" who fancy that secular teaching may be carried on without dogma, and yet be free from Scepticism. The Schoolmaster may teach "Philosophy" in every lecture after school hours, and this teaching is generally of a very advanced character, opposed to Revelation of course. Wherever there is supposed to be an absolute necessity for a State education purely secular, as

in New South Wales, owing to our miserable Protestant sectarianism and Romish exclusiveness, the friends of religion, and of social order will do well to watch narrowly and jealously the class of influences brought to bear on the common school teaching especially. The Priest may not be desirable as a Teacher, but the Sceptic is still less so. To teach secular truths in a Christian spirit should be the object of Unsectarian Education. No Sceptic or Jew could object to this. The Universities of Germany in the 19th Century are 28 in number. Of these 21 are in the Prusso-German Empire with 1800 Professors and Teachers, and 16,222 Students, of which 6,077 are students in Philosophy, and 2,500 in Theology; these 8,000 represent the future Divines, Professors, and School Teachers, of the population. From this may be inferred the influence of the Universities and their teaching upon the men of the higher and middle classes of society in the past century as well as in the present. The teaching is in one word "Philosophy," which gives its tone to Divinity and all other topics, Biblical Criticism included; thus the mind of Germany is formed, guarded and dominated over by Professional Lecturers, whose teachings whatever may be their character cannot in after life be easily effaced. The bearing of this teaching upon Biblical Criticism and religious belief, makes it desirable to ascertain the opinions of some eminent men as to the character of the Philosophy itself, which is the life and soul of German Education. To define the protean word, we will refer to Dr. Henry Caldewood, who explains it to be "A rational explanation of things, obtained by discovery of their existence, or by showing why they exist." (See Fleming's Vocabulary of Philosophy.) Dr. William Fleming tells us that it is "the science of causes and principles. It is the investigation of those principles on which all knowledge and all being ultimately rest. It is the exercise of reason to solve the most elevated problems which the human mind can conceive. How do we know? and what do we know? It examines the growth of human certitude and verifies the trustworthiness of human knowledge. It enquires into the causes of all being and ascertains the nature of all existences by reducing them to Unity." So much for scholarly definition. Now in the case of the Individual Man, what is his Philosophy? It is his theory

of being—his mode or principle by which he accounts for all phenomena, for whatever seems to him to be; his notions of the deep reasons which lie at the foundation of all facts. Now the difference between Philosophy and Christianity as guides in the search after truth is this: the former is restricted to the help of a priori reasonings or human subjectivity, that is to say to Man's assumptions or his consciousness; the other has the help which the light of Divine Revelation throws upon the mysteries of being and knowing.

Let me now give you (1) The opinion of Blakey in his "History of Philosophy;" (2) that of Archbishop Whateley: both of them bearing hard upon our Teutonic friends, and then (3) an extract from an apologist. (1) "The German Philosophers had long disdained to speak as other men speak. We have had no trouble to decipher the language of the French, the Italian, the Spanish and the Flemish; but when we come to the German Metaphysician, we find him bristling with such an array of form and technicalities of speech, as render him unapproachable unless we comply with his own terms. We must attempt to think as he thinks, to speak as he speaks, or there is no good to be done with him. He has a way of his own with which strangers intermeddle not." (History of Philosophy, Vol. 3, p. 327.) Blakey further describes the German mode of Philosophizing as radically different from our own. "We usually commence with analyzing mental faculties and feelings, the outward manifestation of mind, and from these draw certain conclusions and inferences. The German Philosopher regards this as a very humble and subordinate thing, and aims at doing greater things; he plunges into the deepest recesses of what he calls 'himself,' his inward and living principle, and demands why it is as it is? why, he is stimulated to know the why and the wherefore of his own individual existence, as well as of existence in general; he feels himself perplexed and in doubt about the existence of Deity, the universe and the human soul, and feels convinced there is a somewhere in nature, when all this obscurity will be removed, and when we shall be able to see everything face to face as in a glass." (Vol. 4, p. 104-5.) (2) Archbishop Whateley's remarks bear mainly on the obscurity common to all German philosophical phraseology.

"These persons have been long accustoming their disciples to admire as a style truly philosophical, what can hardly be described otherwise than as a certain haze of words imperfectly understood, through which some remote ideas scarcely distinguishable in their outlines loom as it were upon their view in a kind of dusky grandeur which vastly exaggerates their proportions. It is chiefly in such foggy forms, that the metaphysics and theology of Germany for instance are every day exercising a greater influence on popular literature." (Caution for the Times p. 497.) (3) We now give an able apology for German Philosophy from "Aids to the Study of German Theology," by Matheson, a work of great value. The writer contends that the meaning of a German writer cannot be conveyed merely by a translation of *his* words into English or French words. The mind of England and France differs radically from that of Germany—with them the empirical (*i.e.*, the facts) predominate over the ideal, the testimony of sense is the stand point. With the German it is otherwise; his thoughts flow not so much from without to within, as from within to without, arising not from the actual but from the resources of his internal consciousness; hence the characteristic subjectivity of the German mind and of its philosophy. The writer takes credit justly for Kant and his philosophy, by which the supposed impregnable bulwarks of Scepticism raised by David Hume were utterly overthrown and destroyed. This merit for Kant's philosophy was first claimed in the articles on Madame de Stael's Germany, which are to be found in the *Edinburgh Review* Vol. 23, p. 235, and Vol. 46, p. 347; the remark on Kant is in the portion of the Essay not included in the works of Sir J. Mackintosh to whom the article is attributed. The "Critical account of the Philosophy of Kant," by Ed. Caird, 8vo. 1877, (See pp. 119, 120) in reference to this important point is most satisfactory.

Kant's admirers consider that his philosophy has superseded the Wolfian demonstrative method—and the shallow popular philosophy—it shewed the inadequacy of speculative reason in matters not cognizable by sense, and referred men to the revelation of God within them. Schlegel most extravagantly asserted that the probable influence of Kant on the moral culture of

Europe stands on an equality with the Reformation ! ! On the other side there are those who think that Kant in upsetting the Scepticism of preceding Sophists, cast away all the foundations of belief and introduced universal scepticism. It is a question whether the English mind is sufficiently subtle fully to comprehend these speculations. Matheson also states it to be his opinion that the work of German Theology (and of its philosophy of course) "is a long attempt to fill up the gulf between the natural and the supernatural which was left by the Kantian deluge." We doubt whether any philosophy is competent for this. It is the virtue of *faith* alone. (Heb. xi. 3) While however regretting the idolization of human reason as the only instrument and means of arriving at the truth, and the consequent tendency in German philosophy (as also in certain schools of English philosophy) to ignore the claims of revelation and to pander to scepticism, we cannot join in that indiscriminate condemnation in which many good people are apt to indulge. It will ever be regarded as a monument of the power and subtlety of the human intellect, wasted generally upon enquiries and labours from which there can be no results adequate to reward the outlay of mental power. As in the case of the painting supposed by the spectators to be behind the curtain which appeared to hang before it, we may say, *the curtain is the picture*; or in other words, the display and cultivation of mental acuteness is the main result of German philosophy, and of all philosophy which rests entirely on *a priori* foundations. We believe that the Philosophical Schools of Germany have exercised a most injurious influence on the thought of Germany as may be seen in much of its Theology and Biblical Criticism. After these expressions of opinion, it is a pleasure to refer to two gems of thought taken from two of the German philosophers: one from Kant—"There are two things which excite my admiration—the moral law within me, and the starry heavens above me." The other from Goethe—"Let intellectual culture continue to progress, let the natural sciences increase in breadth and depth, and let the human mind enlarge as it will, it will never go beyond the loftiness and moral education of Christianity as it sparkles and shines forth in the Gospel." We can but mention the names of the leaders of philosophical thought in Germany

after Leibnitz, beginning with Christian Wolff 1679-1754 and his followers of the Leibnitz-Wolfian school. Kant 1724-1804 and his school, Schiller, Jacobi, Fichte 1762-1814 and the Fichtians, Schlegel 1775-1854, Hegel 1770-1831, Schleirmacher 1768-1834, Schopenhauer 1785-1860, Herbert 1776-1841, Beneke 1798-1854, and we name them that some may be induced to look through that elaborate record of the strength and weakness, the wisdom and folly of the Human Intellect in a brief sketch by A. S. Farrar (Critical History) p. 619, and also in a Table pp. 621-5, exhibiting a classification of German Theologians, substantially correct no doubt, (though some of the names may not exactly fit the particular place in which they stand) and in Ueberwegs History of Philosophy (2 Vols. 8vo. 1876). It is not necessary for our object, to discuss the merits or otherwise of the more modern Scientific and Metaphysical Sceptical Philosophies Continental or English; they are mainly but the old theories of the 17th and 18th Centuries, with a few variations and additions, with a slight spicey flavour from the Naturalistic Atheism of the Indian and Greek Philosophy. Comte, Herbert Spencer, J. S. Mill, Alex. Bain, G. H. Lewes, Darwin, Huxley, Tyndale, &c., are best known to English readers. The leading principles of these philosophies in their bearing on revelation have been fairly handled by a Roman Catholic Layman, J. Stores Smith, Esq., in his Lecture "on the intrusion of certain Professors of Physical Science into the region of faith and morals," and by a Wesleyan Minister, the Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D., in a Lecture on "Theism as postulated in Philosophy and Science," both of which have been largely circulated through the daily and weekly journals, and will no doubt ere long be presented in a more permanent shape; for the former we in Sydney are indebted to the liberality of the *Morning Herald*, for the latter, to the *English Watchman*.

13. The Sceptical Biblical Criticism of Germany dates from Semler 1715—97 to Baur of the Tübingen School, and Strauss first of the mythic and then of the pantheistic school. The leaders of Sceptical thought in Germany, pass away like Eastern dynasties, their power is short lived. Eichorn improved upon Semler's rationalism; Paulus offered naturalistic explanations of miraculous

history: Strauss poured contempt upon these half-and-half doubtings and courageously regarded the facts of Sacred History as Myths; severely handled by the learned Tübingen Critics, he took refuge in Atheism. The Tübingen School is now the dominant one. It leaves us in possession of certain portions of the Sacred Scriptures which it deems *undoubtedly* genuine, and which of themselves are quite sufficient to establish the facts and teachings of the Christian Religion!! Thus Christianity is left Master of the field by the confessions of its most acute antagonists. As the opinions of these critics as stated by their more modern representatives will come before us in the following lectures, it is needless to catalogue them and their peculiar views. A full account up to 1827 of these Critics and Theologians may be found in "The state of Protestantism in Germany," by Hugh James Rose, 8vo. 1828. This book first introduced to the notice of the English readers, the Critical Rationalists of Germany. It is singular that the censures of Rose were objected to by Dr. Pusey in his pamphlets 1828 and 1830, since then withdrawn from circulation. This gentleman is now well known as an Orthodox High Churchman, the author of one of the best commentaries on Daniel and the minor Prophets. It is yet more singular that the article in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 107, August 1831, on German Rationalism, taking the writings of Rose and Pusey as the text, was written by Tom Moore, well known as a poet, but not generally so well known as a man of good sense and sound principle as far as his light went. Professing himself to be a Romanist, he was in reality a man of very broad opinions, unattached to any particular Church. In his exposition the Rationalistic principles are fairly stated—(1) The making human reason the sole arbiter in the Doctrines of Revelation, its morals and duties, as well as in the Evidences of Revelation. (2) The impossibility of the Supernatural, natural laws being uniform and invariable. (3) Hence the rejection of all that is miraculous in the Scripture. In the course of our investigations into the application of "the Higher Criticism" to the interpretation of the Old and New Testament, we shall notice these assumptions, and examine in detail their application by the Critics of Germany and their English copyists from Dr. Geddes to Bishop Colenzo. It must be observed, that



admitting their premises—(1) a direct Revelation from God to man is impossible, for that implies a miracle—(2) that man gifted with faculties and sensibilities of the highest order has been left without a word of direction from his Maker and moral Governor, notwithstanding the traditions of all ancient people, and their histories, especially that of the Jewish people—a people whose separate existence while scattered abroad is a standing fulfilment of prophecy. The difficulties of the Rationalistic theorists commence when they attempt to reply to the accumulation of evidence on the other side; then they practically find out the correctness of the remark of the Duke of Argyle, “The most difficult of all difficulties is to believe that Christianity is not true.” Consistent Rationalism must be followed by Universal Scepticism. Such anarchies of thought are always followed by re-action to faith. Hence German Rationalism has driven and is yet driving men of education and religious feeling into the Romish Church. In 1813—14 these perversions to Romanism began. About 300 respectable literary Professors in those years went over to Rome. If Biblical Evidence is decried as unsound, men will look to an authority which professes Infallibility. Hence the importance of our possessing our souls in peace in a well grounded conviction that the Bible of our fathers is the true and genuine written record of the Divine will. Men’s varying and opposing opinions are nothing to us. We have on this point a word in season from an inspired prophet, addressed to all puzzled and anxious enquirers. “*Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths; where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.*” (Jeremiah vi. 16.)



## LECTURE III.

### THE HIGHER CRITICISMS AND THE PENTATEUCH (PART THE FIRST.)

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1. The most suitable introduction to this lecture is a quotation from that valuable Scotch Commentator the Rev. Robert Jamieson, D.D., taken from his Preface to the "Commentary, critical, experimental and practical on the Old and New Testaments" by himself, and the Rev. A. R. Fausset and Rev. David Brown, D.D.; (6 vols. Imperial 8vo.) a Commentary of great value both to the Christian minister and private Christian. "There is a special interest attached to the Pentateuch, both from the intrinsic importance of the subjects it embraces, and from its direct relation to the scheme of grace which it is the design of the inspired volume to develope: the value set upon this opening portion of Scripture cannot be over-estimated, for its records occupy a place in universal History which cannot elsewhere be supplied; and its author, has next to Jesus Christ, exercised by his divine legation, the most powerful and extensive influence over the progress and the destinies of the human race. The history he wrote, the laws he announced, the doctrines of the divine unity and holiness, and of the only acceptable mode of worship he taught, have had a close and constant bearing on the cause of civilization, as well as on the interests of true religion; and although they were originally addressed to a peculiar people in a remote age, they contribute still, by their essential connection with Christianity, to furnish the light which is destined to lighten the whole world. It is from a profound sense of the value of those writings of Moses that the friends of truth have ever prized them as integral portions of God's revealed Word, and are led to rally with hallowed zeal for their defence when their divine authority and historic truth are impugned, as they often have been. It is not now for the first time that they have been represented as a work of imposture, or decried and villified as a collection of fables. Attacks formidable

in character and malignant in design, have now and again been made upon them; yet still in spite of all the weapons and modes of destruction employed, the Bible, and the Pentateuch as an important part of it still survives." These are substantially the views of the Lecturer who thinks with Hengstenberg, that "Such a work as the Pentateuch can be maintained as genuine, only as long as it is expounded as a sacred book," a portion and in fact the earliest of that "Scripture given by inspiration of God." (1 Timothy iii, 16), the oldest book of all books preserved extant, and yet current among us, forming part of the literature of our age. There may be fragments of Egyptian writings older than the time of Abraham just as there may be documents in the Pentateuch even more ancient than the days of Noah, but as a Sacred Book a living and influential representation of mind, the Pentateuch is unique in its character, without predecessors or contemporaries! The wonder is not that in such a book there are what appear to us obscurities, and incoherencies, but that there are so few, and all of them easily reconcileable with the veracity of the writer and the credibility of the facts. It is well that such is the case, as the Pentateuch is one of the battle fields, the special ground chosen for Sceptical attacks on the genuineness and authority of the Sacred Scriptures.

2. In discussing the question raised by the "Higher Criticism" in reference to the Pentateuch, the great difficulty is the limited space necessarily permitted to a rather venturesome attempt to state the full case briefly. Our literature abounds in learned and convincing defences of the genuineness and authority of the Pentateuch, filling however bulky volumes which are practically useless to the general reader whose time for such studies is necessarily limited. We are not so presumptuous as to aim at adding to the number of the standard Evidential authorities which are or ought to be found in all our public libraries. Our object is to avoid prolixity, by the omission of details not bearing upon the essentials of the points in dispute, and yet to place our hearers in a position to master the leading questions at issue in this the great Controversy of 1600 years past, as well as of our day. And in order to secure the chance of being listened to or of being read, we must be as brief as is consistent with the avoidance

of obscurity. In the two Introductory Lectures, we called your attention to the dual character of the Biblical Schools of Criticism, and endeavoured to refresh your memories by a reference to certain facts bearing upon the Canon of Scripture, and the Text of the Old Testament; and also to exhibit the history of the outbreaks of Sceptical thought in opposition to the restraints of Divine Revelation. We are now to consider the case of the "Higher Criticism" in connection with the Pentateuch, classifying our remarks under the following heads, which we think will help to give a satisfactory exhibition of the diverse opinions current on the claims of the Pentateuch to be considered as an integral portion of the Word of God.

I. Sketch of the opinions of the critical schools in reference to the authorship and unity of the Pentateuch.

II. The theories of the critical schools on the structure of the Pentateuch.

III. The conclusions of sober matured criticism.

IV. Claims of the Book of Deuteronomy to its place in the Pentateuch.

V. A brief reference to the Biblical Testimony to the authorship and authority of the Pentateuch.

In the Second *Part of this Lecture* on the "Higher Criticism and the Pentateuch" we hope to consider the Historical credibility of the facts recorded, together with certain moral and scientific questions arising out of the history itself.

3. In the exhibition of the critical opinions, we refer mainly though not exclusively to those of the New School—the advanced adherents of the "Higher Criticism." We might enumerate a long list of learned scholars and writers of the Old School on the other side of the question. We mention this to prevent the impression arising out of the unqualified statements, most industriously and perseveringly circulated by certain latitudinarian literary journals that all the learning of Christendom has been on the side of one class of opinions merely—an impression differing widely from facts. We proceed therefore to give—I. a "Sketch of the opinions of the critical schools in reference to the authorship and unity of the Pentateuch." Beginning with the writers of the Clementine Homilies in the second century, and with

the Gnostic sects of that and the following century, (Ptolomæus for instance) who either neglected or opposed the Pentateuch, we may refer those who wish to explore this rather obscure chapter of Church History to the works of Norton, Burton or Mansel. St. Jerome in the fourth century recognised as possible a recension of the Pentateuch by Ezra. Four Jewish Rabbis are recorded as ascribing the Legislation of the Pentateuch to Moses, the narrative to another or other writers: their names are Isaac Israeli, 845-940. Isaac Ben Jasos in the 11th century. Aben Ezra in the 12th century. Joseph Tob Elem in the 14th century. One of the Reformers Carlstadt (1520) was nearly of the same opinion, and the Romanist Masius (1574) supposed there had been a rearrangement of the writings of Moses by Ezra or some other. So also Hobbes, Peyrere, Father Simon, and Le Clerc in the 17th century. Spinoza attributed the Pentateuch and historical books to Ezra. A-van Dale who died 1708 thought that the law was by Moses, the rest of the Pentateuch by Ezra. Spencer (the English divine) in 1685, by his great work "*De legibus Hebræorum*," unintentionally paved the way for the low rationalizing treatise of Michaelis 1770, in his "Commentaries on the Laws of Moses." These learned works tended to lower the impression of the spiritual character of the great Jewish legislator. Vitringa 1706-1711 thought that Moses had made use of Patriarchal documents. The English Deists of the 17th and 18th century generally regarded the Pentateuch as post Mosaic and of no Divine authority.

4. A new direction was given to the literature of the question by one Astruc, a French physician, who noticing a peculiarity in the use of the Divine names in Genesis (Elohim and Jehovah), which had not altogether escaped the observation of the later Fathers and of some of the Schoolmen, built upon this fact what is called the "Elohist and Jehovistic" theory of the origin and composite nature of the Pentateuch. He imagined that Moses had access to two principal documents, each distinguished by one of the two names principally; and that he made use of ten other smaller memoirs, which were originally arranged in twelve columns; these by the carelessness of transcribers became promiscuously mingled, and hence arose the frequent repetitions and dislocations in the

narrative. This theory according to his admirers "opened a new era in the criticism of the Pentateuch;" it certainly introduced a new nomenclature, requiring some additions to our vocabulary necessary to enable us to understand the ingenious speculations of the German critics of the new school which it had stimulated. It is called the "Documentary Hypothesis" of one or more original documents revised and edited, adopted after Astruc by Jerusalem, Spalding, Schultens, Eichorn, Gramberg, and Rosenmüller with some minor variations. Ilgen thought that there were three authors, and seventeen smaller documents, and to this view Hupfield in his later productions seems inclined to coincide. It was soon superseded by the "Fragmentary Hypothesis" of Vater 1815 and Hartmann 1818, which suppose the Pentateuch to have originated in a collection of old laws and fragments put together in the time of David and Solomon, and that the work so compiled was the basis of the present book of Deuteronomy which they think was the book discovered in the reign of Josiah—the rest of the Pentateuch being composed between the time of Josiah and the Exile. Möller in 1792 had thought that the basis of the Pentateuch was fragmentary, but was not so far advanced in his views as most of his successors; Bunsen and Kuenen (the Dutch critic) may be considered as favouring this theory as they consider the Pentateuch to have been formed in the days of the Kings (say 800 B.C.) from fragments of laws and records. The third is the "Supplementary Hypothesis" which admits of supplements to the original documents; this is adopted by most of the German critics of the new school, agreeing in recognising the main element in the Pentateuch to be the Elohist and Jehovistic documents, the former being the most ancient and the foundation of the work; and that the latter made use of the work of his predecessor, added to it, abridging and sometimes incorporating it with his own material. There are, as must be the case, very great differences of opinion as to the details, among those who hold the main theory. De Wette, fancies that Deuteronomy is not by the authors of the first four books which were written in the time of the later Kings; but was written after the Exile. Lengkerke thinks that the Elohist lived in the time of Solomon, the Jehovist in the days of Hezekiah. Tuck is of opinion that the Elohist was

contemporary with Saul, the Jehovist with Solomon. Stählein assigns the four books to the Elohist in the time of the Judges, Deuteronomy to the Jehovist in the days of Saul. Hupfield finds traces of three authors in Genesis, an earlier and later Elohist, and a Jehovist, the latter quite independent of the others; all these welded into one by a later editor. Vaihinger agrees with Hupfield in the main as to the first four books and Chap. 32 and 34 of Deuteronomy, but considers that the rest of Deuteronomy was by a later writer. The earlier Elohist he supposes to have lived 1200 B.C., the later Elohist 1000 B.C., the Deuteronomist in the days of Hezekiah. So also in the main points, with great differences as to dates and persons Gessenius, Von Bohlen, Wegscheider, Deoderlin, Bleek, Knobel, Hitzig, and others. Ewald takes a plan peculiarly his own in accounting for the present state of the Pentateuch. It is to him a compilation of seven authors in "The great book of Origins" or "Primitive history" comprising the Pentateuch and Joshua. These books are "the Book of the wars of Jehovah," "A life of Moses;" of these two only small fragments remain. The "Book of the Covenant" written in the time of Sampson; the "Book of Origins," written by a priest in the time of Solomon. The fifth author was a subject of the Northern Kingdom in the days of Elijah and Joel. The sixth author lived between 800 and 750 B.C. The seventh writer lived not long after Joel who collected the works of his predecessors. Then, the finish to the history was begun by an unknown writer at the beginning of the 7th century B.C., and after this in a more comprehensive manner by the Deuteronomist who flourished in the time of Manasseh and lived in Egypt. In the time of Jeremiah lived the poet who wrote the blessing of Moses which is found in Deuteronomy. A later Editor incorporated Deuteronomy and the other works of his predecessors, and thus the whole Pentateuch was completed by no less than Eleven writers! of whom the Jewish records know nothing!! Hypothesis exhausts itself in the theory of Ewald—here it culminates and cannot possibly be exceeded. Even German sceptics cannot agree to it. Ewald has few followers.

5. The English critics of the new school are simply copyists from their German leaders, adopting the theories, and occasion-

ally suggesting additions which are not improvements; the leaders and founders of this English School of Critical Rationalists are (1) Dr. Geddes, a Romish priest who died early in this century, and of whom an interesting life was written by J. Mason Good. Dr. Geddes "New Translation and Commentary" on the Bible, 3 vols. 4to. 1792-1800, was severely handled by Bishop Horsley in the British Critic. Dr. Geddes regards the Pentateuch in its present shape to be a compilation from the journals of Moses, from documents also of an earlier date, and from others later than Moses, reduced to order in the time of Solomon. (2) J. W. Donaldson, considers "the Book of Jasher," (published 1854) a compilation of his own from the Old Testament, (so called after the reference in Joshua x. 13) to be the pith and marrow of the genuine Old Testament, the rest being a "farrago of many ages:" his reviewer in the London Quarterly (Vol. 5 p. 460) estimates the New Bible to be in size equal to about 24 chapters of the English Bible. As the work was written in Latin, we may charitably suppose that it was intended, like the well known *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum* of the early part of the 16th century, to be a satire on the extreme absurdities advocated by certain Critics. On one occasion, he very faintly rebutted the supposition. (3) The writers of the Essays and Reviews published in 1861 by seven members of the University of Oxford, of whom six were clergymen, contained seven Essays, some of which were innocuous, though decidedly rationalistic. Rowland Williams, a learned worthy, and honest but rather advanced clergyman, endeavoured in these Essays to popularise the researches of Baron Bunsen, and to place the results of his absurdly exaggerated Chronology in opposition to what he deemed the limited Chronology of the Old Testament, which has really no system of Chronology at all. To refute Ussher's dates in the margin of the English Bible is nothing to the purpose. Goodwin's article on the Mosaic Cosmogony dwells on the discrepancies between modern theories and the narrative of the first chapter of Genesis, forgetting to notice their singular agreement substantially with the generally accepted results of Geological Science. Professor Jowett's article on the Interpretation of Scripture, loose and vague and equivocal, but like all his writings, attractive and valuable, did not lessen the



well founded suspicions of the orthodox school. The learned writers had put forth nothing that was new, which had not been advocated by Critics of all shades of thought; much of the matter would now be considered as out of date. At first these "Essays" seemed to fall from the press unnoticed, until public attention was directed to the work by the attacks of its opponents, numerous enough, but of unequal merit. It had the merit of plain speaking and drew the attention of the churches to the large amount of speculative literary scepticism prevalent among a certain class in the higher walks of society. It led to a thorough investigation of all the questions mooted; both in our great quarterlies, the *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly*, the *British Quarterly*, the *London Quarterly*, the *British and Foreign Evangelical*, and others, and in a large class of replies, of which the name is Legion. The stagnancy of the Churches in reference to the criticism of the Scriptures was disturbed, and this prepared the minds of Biblical Scholars and the public at large for a yet more startling phenomenon, an attack nominally on the genuineness of the Books of Moses and Joshua, but in reality upon all the historical books of the Old Testament, by a Bishop of the Church of England, not indeed occupying an English See but one not less but rather more important in a spiritual point of view, a Colonial Bishoprick.

(4) Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, surprised the Church and the world by the publication of the first part of an 8vo. volume, entitled "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua examined;" other five parts appeared in rapid succession in 1863, 1865 and 1871 in all six parts. After this, Six large Treatises appeared, containing an examination of the new Bible commentary sanctioned by the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of England, best known as the *Speaker's Commentary*, (from 1871 to 1874), then "Lectures on the Pentateuch," (being a brief resumé of his large work) and remarks on the Moabite Stone 8vo. 1873. One of the first things which strikes an impartial enquirer is the lengthiness of these critical enquiries extending over 3732 pages 8vo., generally in fair readable type. The second thing is the absence of all traces of the most necessary qualities in the Critic of the Biblical Histories, that is say, a sympathy with Oriental feeling, and a knowledge of Oriental usages which would have enabled him to identify himself with

the times upon which he treats. Eichorn's remark, in reference to the Book of Genesis, points out the very thing in which the mathematical Bishop was deficient. "Read it as two historical works of the ancient world, and breathe in it the air of its age and country; forget the century in which you live, and the knowledge that it affords you. If you cannot do this, dream not of enjoying the book in the spirit of its origin." The third thing is the evident earnestness of the worthy Bishop, wholly devoted to the one idea; the unmasking the supposed trickery of the Jewish Church, or its remissness in attributing the Pentateuch to Moses, and thus freeing Christianity from all responsibility in connexion with the Jewish Canon!! So anxious is he to establish this point, that in a controversy requiring no small literary training and special education to understand, he has issued a cheap edition for the use of the uneducated classes, by whom his arguments and line of enquiry cannot possibly be understood, though they may easily comprehend his sceptical conclusions. The fourth thing is the entire subordination of his intellect to theories of the most advanced character, which claim to be the result of German scholarship, and critical skill; though now and then under the impulse of his zeal he goes far beyond his teachers; for instance, he considers the literal narrative of the Pentateuch to be unhistorical, and that it was not intended by its authors (Samuel and other prophets down to Jeremiah) to be received as history, but merely as a vehicle for the conveyance of religious truth to the people of their own time!! In justice to the Bishop's religious character he considers that in his "Natal Sermons" he has fully proved that "the central truths of Christianity, the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the revelation of God in man, are unaffected by these results of scientific enquiry." Hence it is that in Dr. Colenso we have little that is new, little that amazes us, except the childlike trust of the credulous and laborious Bishop in his Teutonic guides—the fifth thing is the total avoidance of any reference to the numerous evidences external and internal against his theories, existing in the English and other languages, written by men some of them fully equal to the best of his German authorities. His readers are not much troubled by adverse opinions, but are allowed to go quietly down the stream

of assertion and re-assertion, and of friendly criticism until they are fairly lost in a literary mist which few can penetrate or escape from. The utility of Dr. Colenso's labours is in this, that like Dr. Samuel Davidson he is a valuable medium of communication between the German Rationalistic critics, and the English mind—the English reader learns in his writings (as from a partial friend of the critics) the facts and tendencies of the German "Higher Criticism." It is well it should be so. Let us know all that can be said against the historical documents of our faith. We do not fear the worst and most specious charges against them by Continental or English opponents, given in their own language and from their own standpoint. To the Bishop himself one must feel most respectfully and kindly; honest and courageous, liberal in respecting the opposite views of many of his clergy, indifferent to censure and abuse, one cannot but sympathise with him as a man, while differing in toto from his critical and theological views. Had he been less impulsive, and given himself more time for thought and further enquiry, before he had given his doubts and discoveries to the public, he might possibly have arrived in due time at different conclusions. One good has resulted from his labours; Christian Ministers have been compelled to resuscitate their Hebrew in order to follow his appeals to the Old Testament, a study which most of us (of all Churches) had to some extent neglected. The Bishop's main points are—

- (1) No part of the original story of the Exodus can have been composed before the time of Samuel, who was the Elohist; his writings are about one half of Genesis, a small portion of Exodus, less of Numbers and a small part of Deuteronomy and Joshua, about one sixth part of the whole six books.
- (2) That the Jehovist lived in the time of David and wrote a large portion of the Pentateuch and Joshua, some sections of which especially in Genesis, and in Joshua were written by the Deuteronomist who was probably the prophet Jeremiah. (In this view Gessenius, Von Bohlen, Hartmann and other critics of the New School agree.)
- (3) That the Levitical Legislation was not generally known or carried into effect before the return from captivity, and probably originated in the Exile. These extreme views are only remarkable as coming from a Bishop of the Anglican Church;

what is most remarkable is that the then Primate of Canterbury (not Dr. Tait) could be so forgetful of the great alteration in the requirements of our Evidential Literature, arising out of the great change in the position of the controversy, as to recommend to his clergy the writings of Ussher and Watson as suitable antidotes to the errors of Bishop Colenso ! ! writings which it is well known refer to errors of a totally different character. (5) Dr. Samuel Davidson in 1862-3 in his introduction to the Old Testament (3 vols. 8vo.,) gives us in a condensed and readable form, the speculations of the advanced German Critics. These views are best met by a reference to the earlier writings of Dr. Davidson, especially in his "Biblical Criticism," published 1839. Dr. Davidson supposes that there are an earlier and later Elohist, a Jehovist, and a Redactor in the first four books of the Pentateuch, and that Deuteronomy was written in the time of Manasseh. Of other English Critics as Dr. Giles, and the writers of certain articles in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, we only need to remark, that their theories are mere repeats of the dicta of the Sceptical school, to which we have already referred. (6) Dr. Kalish, a learned Rabbi, in his "Commentaries on Genesis, Exodus and Leviticus," fixes the date of the Pentateuch and of the Levitical economy as not earlier than the return from the exile.

6. So far the references to German criticism have been to writers exclusively identified with the new and Sceptical school. On the Orthodox side are Bertheau, Eckerman, Hengstenberg, Havernick, Drechsler, Ranke, Sach, Welte, Baumgarten, Hug and others. The general tendency of German thought is at this time re-actionary in opposition to the wild and unproved theories of the extreme Sceptical school. The first traces of this conservative tendency may be seen in the approximation towards the old opinions by Delitzsch which has commended itself especially to the English Scholars and Critics. In his opinion Moses substantially is the author of the four books and also of Deuteronomy. The Elohist and Jehovist documents are found in the earlier part of the Pentateuch, but used by Moses, to whom the general authorship belongs. The codification of the laws delivered in the wilderness originally, and which were recorded by the Priests

(Deuteronomy xvii. 11) took place in the land of Canaan. A man like Eleazer and another like Joshua supplemented the whole. Kurtz agrees with Detelzsch substantially, but thinks that the codification of the laws took place in the desert. Schultz agrees with Detelzsch and Kurtz, but thinks that Moses was the Jehovist of the first four books. But the battle of Orthodoxy and religious feeling on the one hand, and Sceptical Neology and indifference on the other, is not yet fought out. This class of errors and other evils arising out of the misuse of intellectual gifts, will not yield to mere logic or evidence. They are of the sort of which our Saviour remarked, "*This kind can come forth by nothing but by fasting and prayer.*" (Mark x. 29.)

7. We have now stated the various adverse views of the objectors to the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, and have glanced at the contrary opinions held by Critics of equal learning, between which opposing views the Critical schools of the Continent and of England are divided. The bare statement of the diverse and contrary decisions of the "Higher Criticism," not merely in minor details, but in points the most important, are not calculated to inspire confidence in the soundness of their general conclusion as to the non-Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. Some facts of importance towards the settlement of the question are however either entirely overlooked, or but slightly noticed. *The first is the evidence of the Jewish Church from 1500 B.C. to the sixteenth century of our Era, a uniform and unruffled testimony of thirty centuries.* No minute criticisms however captious can set aside the fact obvious to every reader of the Old Testament, that from Joshua to Malachi the existence of some well known record of the events narrated in the Pentateuch, and of the legal enactments of the Mosaic code is implied. To assert that the books from Joshua to Samuel belong to the period of the later Kings or to the period of the Exile is more easy to say than to prove; and even if this wild assumption were true, the fact of these historical books being compilations from contemporary records is not denied, and their testimony is thus equally valid for the point in dispute. To say with some of the objectors that the numerous references to the "Law," and the "Books of Moses," do not

apply to the Pentateuch, but to some other collection of Laws or historical memoirs, is to beg the question. We ask for proof? Again, is it probable, is it possible that Ezra, Nehemiah and their contemporaries the Prophets Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi could be deceived as to the genuineness and authenticity of the records of their Church and State? On the yet more monstrous supposition of collusion on the part of these second fathers and restorers of the Jewish Church, would not the Samaritan schism under Manasseh son of Joiada the Jewish High Priest, expelled for his marriage with a foreign wife B.C. 409 have led to the discovery of the imposition? Whereas, the very book which Manasseh and his faction adopted principally, if not solely is the Pentateuch, the Law of Moses!! Historically, the rival Temple on Mount Gerizim, with the older rival the throne of the kingdom of the ten Tribes at Samaria, each opposed to the ecclesiastical as well as civil polity of the rulers of Jerusalem, and yet receiving as authentic and authoritative the same Book of the Law, are unanswerable evidences of their opinion of its sacred character. And when after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and the final dispersion of the Jewish people up to the present time, what has been the almost universal testimony of the Rabbis and the learned of the Jewish people to the Divine origin of "the Law and the Prophets?" To us Christians, the mind of the Jewish race as expressed in its Literature, has since the Christian Era, been a Terra Incognita. Those who have explored this secluded intellectual Jewish world, tell us of hundreds of Hebrew writers, whose works, in an unbroken chain, connect the far gone past of history with the present age; literary treasures which would amply repay the researches of the theologian, the historian, the critic, the philologist, the lawyer, the poet, the metaphysician, and the statesman: (see Etheridge's "Jerusalem and Tiberias," 12mo. 1856, and "Literary remains Emanuel Deutsch," 8vo. 1874.) A bare catalogue of the principal Jewish writers covers several octavo pages. Among these have been found men profoundly learned and somewhat advanced in their views, as untrammelled by their creed as if they had been nominally Christians, and not indisposed to the exercise of a friendly criticism, but, in justice we must say, always in a reverent spirit.

These men were not ignorant of the so called anachronisms, discrepancies, contradictions, peculiarities of style, &c., at which the learned of the Gentiles have stumbled, but have noticed them with indifference; because, being Oriental in habits of thought and language, and familiar with Oriental modes of expression, they saw none of the difficulties which strike a Western Critic. The defect of European Critics has been the judging of Oriental writers by a Western standard of style and composition. Japhet though he has been living a long time in the tents of Shem, has not yet become fully orientalised. For the most part, and with a few insignificant exceptions, the Jewish people of all classes, the learned and the unlearned, have lived in the faith of their fathers, and have not hesitated to die for it. *The second fact of importance to which we have referred, and the most conclusive, is the plain and direct testimony of our Lord and of his Apostles as recorded in the New Testament*, with which we are all familiar. Objections have been made to the absolute conclusiveness of this testimony, on the ground that our Lord in his humiliation as the Son of Man, was voluntarily ignorant, and placed on a level in respect to knowledge with any ordinary Jew; the proof is supposed to be in the declaration recorded in Mark xiii. 32 in which our Lord as the Son of Man seems to intimate his ignorance of the day and hour of the end of the world. Even if we admit this doubtful interpretation of the passage, it must be obvious, that there is a marked difference between our Lord's ignorance of a matter which it was not his mission to reveal, and which, if revealed, would be more or less injurious to the spiritual interests of human beings in a state of probation; and an ignorance of matters connected with the sacred books of the Jewish people, which would altogether vitiate the character and authority of our Lord's teaching. He tells the Jews expressly that Moses "wrote" of him, John v. 46-47. If he were mistaken on so important a point, how could he be the Great Teacher? We must not with the Nestorians so separate the Divine and the Human Nature in Jesus Christ, as to forget that in Him they are but *one Christ*. As such *he knew all things* (John ii. 24-5, John xxi. 17) as became a teacher from God. (John ii. 3.)

8. With respect to the conclusions of the advanced Rationalistic Critics it is natural enough, that with the exception of a few scholars overawed by the well known learning of the Critical German School, the more sober Biblical Scholars of Great Britain and America regarded the new theories with astonishment; and when the result of a careful analysis had laid open the contradictions, inconsistencies and impossibilities connected with them, they were not generally regarded with favour, nor met with a ready acceptance. Some narrow and prejudiced as well as incompetent expositions and defences of the old Orthodox Critical school, by men not acquainted with the new phases of the controversy, caused for a time some little re-action in favour of the new theory; from which we may judge of the great mistake which is made by Theologians and Critics in neglecting to avail themselves of the new lights which modern research has thrown upon the criticism of the Bible. In due time orthodox scholars awoke, renewed their youth, and the natural effect was that their plain unexaggerated statement of the improbable, and incredible conclusions of the new school lessened its hold on the learned. Men have much to unlearn before they can believe that the Pentateuch was the work of Samuel, or of Jeremiah, or some others about the time of the exile—that the Levitical regulations originated in the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah—that Deuteronomy was a pious forgery of the High Priest and the prophet to alarm the conscience of King Josiah—that the first books of the Old Testament are a series of patchwork compositions, sometimes of two or even half-a-dozen writers—and that all these supposed real authors of the books which have commanded the reverential faith of the Jewish people, have been utterly forgotten, without a name in the records of the Jewish history!—their very existence unknown for 3000 years more or less!! And then the slight grounds upon which these marvellous results had been worked out by the ingenious but most imaginative Critics—the very foundation and key-stone of these conclusions being the so-called “Elohistic and Jehovistic” theory, which by the dexterous manipulation of skilful scholars, in the exercise of their characteristic subjectivity has brought out these startling results—results independent of, and to a great extent opposed to all the evidence of external testimony! And to



crown the whole—the very climax of the inconceivable to any English mind—these critics who claim our submission on the ground of their intuitive perception, such as ensures scientific certainty in their decisions, arrive at different, discordant, and opposite conclusions! Take any one book of the Old Testament, and it is no exaggeration to say, that backed by the authority of the new school of criticism, you may choose out of half-a-dozen supposed authors, and from as many differing dates, for the name and date you prefer; the only exception being that no name and no date hitherto regarded as true or probable is likely to be found there! These extravagances have no parallel except in the vagaries of the Jesuit Hardouin, who in 1693 published at Paris “*Chronologia ex nummis antiquis restitutæ*,” 2 vols. 4to., a work in which he endeavours to prove that the major part of the Greek and Latin classics are forgeries by the monks of the 13th and 14th centuries, with the exception of Homer, Herodotus, Cicero, Pliny, and portions of Virgil and Horace. In another work he applies the same destructive criticism to the Acts of the Councils before that of Trent, and denies the existence of any Heresies before Wickliffe. His reasons are precisely those of the “advanced” Critics, and seem as if they had been intended as a ludicrous parody on the arguments employed by them and their followers, Dr. Colenso and others. (See Dr. Kay and Chalmer’s Dictionary.) The wits of the day, as well as the censorship made short work of the reverend sceptic. What some in our day think to be probable in reference to the Scriptures, was at that time felt to be the veriest folly when applied to the ancient classics. In such criticisms it is not difficult to discern the animus of a foregone conclusion arising from a disbelief of the possibility of the miraculous, and as a natural consequence, a conviction of the historical incredibility of any narrative of facts in which miraculous interferences are recorded. Thus in many instances the prevalent Sceptical philosophy has destroyed the balance of the critical faculty in favour of Rationalistic dogma. Such men, however learned, cannot be the fairest critics of documents pertaining to a Revelation from God—a miracle in itself, from which arose the necessity of other miraculous displays of Divine power. Many of the advanced school of the “higher criticism” do not take

this antagonistic position. Some few do, and others not openly opposed to Revelation reason as if they disbelieved every miraculous narrative recorded in the books which they criticise. No Christian, trained from his youth in a reverent appreciation of the sacred Scriptures, and believing that our Lord Jesus Christ had himself put his mark upon the Old Testament, and especially upon the Pentateuch, could so easily surrender his convictions of the authorship of the Pentateuch, on testimony so frivolous as we find, for instance, in the writings of Bishop Colenso; nor could the Bishop, except that he disputes the testimony of our Lord as irrelevant, because given in his human nature merely. To this great mistake we have referred (at the close of the 7th paragraph) and take this opportunity of again re-iterating the Scriptural Teaching of all Orthodox Churches on the person of our Lord. We fear there is some truth in a statement made by a Clergyman of some note and position that "without doubt a large number of English Church people are *virtually* Nestorians; they regard Christ, not as *very God* but as an organ of Deity." (Sermon Notes by J. E. Vaux, 8vo., 1871.) Our wonder is not that the busy laity should practically fall short in a right opinion of the union of the two natures in the God-Man Christ, but we do wonder that orthodox clergymen can forget the summing up of Scriptural truth in that most comprehensive of Trinitarian Creeds, the Athanasian, on this very point. It teaches us that to "believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ," we must believe that he is "God and man, yet he is not two, but one Christ: one, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking the manhood into God." Every Christian man, and above all an Anglican, is bound to receive all that "*the one Christ*" has said as *the truth*, and leave the burden of the proof to the contrary, to those who insinuate that he was mistaken. When he is told that the so called books of Moses exhibit signs of the existence of ancient documents, and valid authorship, he will admit that this is possible, and even probable, and in reference to the book of Genesis a necessity, but that this does not set aside the authorship of Moses. When anachronisms, and contradictions, and discrepancies are charged, he admits the possibility of such, and can easily understand the

explanations given; that these have proved satisfactory to the majority of scholars is proved by the fact that after three centuries of learned and sceptical criticism, the majority of the learned who have given themselves the trouble to go seriatim through each objection and reply, have come to the conclusion that the credibility of the Pentateuch remains unshaken.

9. We have now to point out as a sample of the grounds on which he and his continental teachers endeavour to prove their views of the authorship and age of the Pentateuch, some frivolous reasons assigned by Dr. Colenso to prove that a portion of the Pentateuch was written by the Elohist, who lived in the days of Samuel and by Jehovist who lived in the time of David and Solomon. How far this fancied distinction of writers so called, is warranted by evidence, will appear when we come to the discussions bearing upon this question in the following section. Dr. Colenso assigns as reasons why he fixes the age of the Elohist as that of the prophet Samuel. First, that Samuel was the only man to whom it is possible to ascribe the writing of a history, that such an employment is ascribed to him in 1 Chron. xxix. 29! Second, that having formed the "Schools of the Prophets," he probably wrote the history for the benefit of his people, and that he is the author of the Elohist passages from Genesis to his own age. Third, that the Elohist passage Genesis xxxvi. 39, referring to "Kings that reigned in the land of Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel," proves that the Elohist lived after or in the days of Saul. Fourth, that the Elohist passage relating to the field of Machpelah in Hebron, Genesis xxiii. 17-18, is intended to give peculiar dignity to that city! and that comparing it with what is recorded in 2 Samuel ii. 1-3, it is obvious it could not be written after Hebron was no longer the royal city! It is clear to Dr. Colenso, that David's priestly and prophetic advisers wished him to keep Hebron as his capital, and hence the passage in Genesis!!! So much for the Elohist! The Jehovist is placed in the reign of David and Solomon. First, because of the prophesy respecting the destiny of Canaan's posterity, Genesis ix. 25-27, a Jehovistic passage which was inserted to justify Solomon's treatment of the Canaanites.

1 Kings ix. 20-21.!! Second, on account of the prophesy respecting the fate of Esau's race. Genesis xxv. 23-27-40, a Jehovistic passage which was fulfilled in the account of the conquest of Edom and its rebellion and liberation recorded in 2 Samuel viii. 14, 1 Kings xi. 21-22.!! On such reasons founded on passages otherwise interpreted by most learned scholars, one of which is regarded as an Interpolation, and in spite of another large class of passages of a very different bearing, the testimony of the Jewish and Christian Churches and that of our Lord himself are coolly set aside. This would scarcely be possible except on the supposition of a prejudiced forgone conclusion. We now come to consider—II. The opinions of the critical school on the structure of the Pentateuch; this subject is intimately connected with the preceding question of the authorship, age and unity of the book. We must first refer to what is called the "Elohistic and Jehovistic theory" which is the main foundation of the startling conclusions of the extreme rationalistic school of criticism. This theory originated in the remarks of Astruc, (1753) which we have already mentioned, that in many portions of Genesis, Elohim (which we translate God) is used almost without exception while in others the word Jehovah (which we render Lord) occupies a similar leading position. Hence it is assumed that there are at least two distinct documents in the Pentateuch, one attributed to the Elohist, and the other to the Jehovist. This opinion of itself would have excited little attention, except for the supposed light which it threw upon the age of the composition of the Pentateuch. From the passage, Exodus vi. 6, it was inferred that the name Jehovah was then, for the first time, made known to the Israelites, and consequently that the fact of its occurrence in Genesis and Exodus, in the narrative and in the mouth of Eve and others, must be accounted for on the supposition of another writer distinct from Moses, or else used by Moses proleptically. This is the opinion of many of the English and Continental Hebraists, among others, of the Rev. Samuel Lee in his Lexicon (8vo. 1840 p. 249), and of another able scholar, the Rev. Wm. Paul in his Hebrew text of Genesis (8vo. 1852 p. 38). The passage as it stands in our English Version appears decisive, "*And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac and unto Jacob by the*

*name of God Almighty, but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them.*" But another more critical and exact rendering of the text which seems to be justified by the usages of the Hebrew language, is proposed by scholars of repute, among others, by the Rev. Canon Cook (in the *Speakers' Commentary*), and by the Rev. John Quarry (in his *Genesis and its authorship* 8vo. 1866): this is as follows: "*I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac and unto Jacob as El Shaddi (God Almighty) as for my name Jehovah I was not known to them.*" These critics contend that the insertion of *the name* in the first clause of the sentence as it stands in the English Bible is a mistake, as it is not in the Hebrew (and therefore is placed by our translators in italics) and that the words *my name* in the second clause, put absolutely, and followed by a verb with which it is not grammatically connected, should be rendered "*as for my name,*" just as our translators properly render Exodus xxxii. 1 "*As for this Moses, &c.*" Thus as the first member of the sentence suggests rather the character which the name denotes, than the name itself; so in the second member of the sentence it is the peculiar character and relation implied in the word Jehovah, rather than the mere making known of the name itself. This is substantially the opinion of the Rev. J. J. S. Perowne in (*Smith's Biblical Dictionary*, Vol. 2 p. 775); so also Patrick in his *Commentary*. This interpretation is confirmed by the analogy of several similar passages in the Old Testament, and is the conclusion arrived at by most of the expositors of Scripture Christian and Jewish, long before Astruc had originated the theory founded upon the misconception of the real meaning of the passage, a theory the more fascinating, because opening out a sort of royal road to Biblical Criticism, making the true scholar and the sciolist to meet on apparently common ground with equal advantage. As we have already given in brief the several theories of sundry learned men respecting the Elohistic, Jehovistic, and the junior and senior Elohistic and Jehovistic writers, the Redactor, the Deuteronomists all of whom are supposed to have had a share in the composition of the Pentateuch, it will be obvious that a very large (and intricately minute in detail) series of discussions have been raised on a very slight and doubtful foundation, in which there has been an exercise of the imagi-

native faculty fully as largely as there has been of linguistical scholarship. It is impossible within the limits necessarily assigned to a lecturer to go into the details of the controversy, necessarily depending upon nice verbal distinctions which though as difficult and also as easy to perceive in English as in Hebrew, *if they really exist*, would be to most hearers or readers wearisome and unprofitable. Some thousands of closely printed pages have not merely to be read but studied and compared, words and sentences, with words and sentences in order to understand the minutiae of the controversy, which after all is not of vital importance towards the final conclusions of scholars as to the authorship and date of the Pentateuch. That Moses or any other writer of the Pentateuch made use of ancient documents, that some of them may have been written by the Elohist or Jehovist are points of some interest if it were possible to ascertain; but the real important matter, quite independent of the merits of the Elohist and Jehovistic theory is the date assignable to these assumed writers; for if these Elohist and Jehovistic scribes wrote portions of Genesis and also of Samuel, or the following books, then of course the Pentateuch is not of the age of Moses. This is the conclusion obviously sought for by the majority of the advocates of the Higher Criticism by a process of reasoning of which we have already given a specimen—but this point has to be settled by the evidence of facts drawn from other sources than from theories resting on the most slender foundations.

10. But at the risk of being tedious, we must do justice to some distinguished critics, English and Continental, who have taken different positions in this discussion, we must briefly state their respective views, each of them representing a class of writers influencing more or less a large body of scholars and divines. The Rev. J. J. S. Perowne (Smith's Dictionary, vol. 2, pp. 775-6) thinks that "while the distinct use of divine names would scarcely of itself prove the point," there is other evidence "the same story told by two writers, and their two accounts manifestly interwoven," as in the history of Noah, the narrative of the flood; "generally the Elohist and Jehovistic writers have their own distinct and individual coloring." (It is singular how the learned differ, for Quarry takes the very passage

referred to as a proof in point of *the unity* of the narrative !) Dr. Samuel Davidson asserts that the Jehovist and Elohist differ in narrative and in ideas, each containing ideas foreign to the other, the junior Elohist is more Anthropomorphic than the Elohist. The Redactor was the general editor who harmonized the works of his predecessors ; Dr. D. gives a table in which the works of each in the several chapters and even verses are given !! (Introduction to Old Testament, vol. I., pp. 58-61.) Bishop Colenso thinks that a difference of style and expression are found in the section peculiar to the Elohist and Jehovist. In his opinion by a microscopic examination of the text, the respective shares of the two writers, "with the force of absolute demonstration." !! Rev. George Warrington in his "Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch," (8vo. 1864) finds traces of an Elohist and Jehovistic narrative, the latter by Moses himself to whom he ascribes three-fourths of the Pentateuch, including the earlier documents incorporated by him. The Rev. Wm. Paul, in his "Hebrew Text," already referred to, admits the existence of the two authorships, but infers that the passages in which the name of Jehovah is not found are documents used by Moses ; that those in which the name is incidentally found are documents revised by Moses, and that those in which the name is often used are the writing of Moses himself. The English writers generally, and many of the Continental critics are doubtful as to the theory of distinct writers distinguished by the use of these two names. Keil may be quoted as representing the views mainly of Heugstenberg, Havernick, Ranke, Drechsler and others. He remarks (Vol I. p. 103, Introduction, &c.) that the names are interchangeable only in accordance with the difference of meaning which they suggested to the religious consciousness of the Israelites ; the name Elohim setting forth the higher sense of the absolute God who has revealed himself to the Patriarch as El Shaddai and Jehovah—while the name Jehovah sets him forth as the personal and everlasting God who realises to the descendants of the Patriarchs the promises made to their fathers. The editor of the Speaker's Commentary which we may presume presents the results of English scholarship, rejects the "Elohistic and Jehovistic" theory altogether. But the most thorough and satis-

factory sifting of the theory in the English language is by its firm opponent the Rev. John Quarry (in *Genesis and its authorship*, 8vo 1866). He contends that the present Hebrew text of the Pentateuch differs materially in language from the text of the Pentateuch before the captivity, having been to a great extent, though not wholly, modernised, and adapted to the somewhat changed Hebrew spoken by the Jews after the captivity. He does not think that the passage Nehemiah viii. 8, "*So he read in the book, in the Law of God distinctly, and gave the sense and caused them to understand the reading,*" implies a change from Hebrew to Chaldee, as Malachi and others including Nehemiah and Ezra wrote in Hebrew, but a change of dialect, and the ignorance of archaic expressions well known to their fathers. Hence the necessity of a recension by Ezra, which leaves us substantially the Pentateuch of Moses; but since then it has been again changed in many places in words and phrases, if we may judge by the copies from which the Alexandrian translators appear to have made their version, in which the terms Elohim and Jehovah are rendered by the corresponding Greek terms almost indifferently, and as it were in defiance of all the theories of the critics from Astruc down! No doubt the original text is substantially represented in our present Hebrew Bible, but all conclusions as to the age of the Pentateuch, and the varied authorship based on purely verbal niceties, are by these variations in the text of these MSS. at once deprived of all authority, and can carry no conviction. The axe is indeed laid to the root of the "Elohistic and Jehovistic" theory by Quarry, in a minute examination of the arguments of Dr. Colenso and others, extending over 390 octavo close printed pages; so that most Hebrew scholars are now convinced that apart from the changed condition of the Hebrew text, the attempt to come to any satisfactory conclusion as to the diversity of authorship seems fruitless when the discordant opinions of the critics are considered. No two agree. A common sense Englishman may judge of the probabilities of arriving at any thing like certainty by a reference to the tables in Dr. Davidson's from Boehmer and Knobel (Vol. I. pp. 58-61), and then given by Dr. Colenso (Vol. VI. appendix, p. 2), and one in



Ayres Criticism of the Old Testament (Horne 10th Ed.); so also Keil (Vol. I. p. 85-90.) The defenders and exponents of this theory differ on the very passages on which they found the distinction for which they contend; every system, each by itself differing from that of its fellows, is a contrivance to meet a difficulty arising out of one set of facts, and each theory creates more difficulties than it affects to explain. Well might the Edinburgh Review, (Vol. 119 p. 63) quoting the late Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, rebuke that "dogmatism of rationalism," which, basing its theories often on arbitrary conjecture, "asserts them with as much certitude and even intolerance, contemptuous intolerance, as the most orthodox and conservative writers." In the practical carrying out of the theory, "the book of Genesis, which as it stands in the Hebrew, has a clear and orderly progression from first to last—its parts, adjusted with admirable symmetry and bound together by numberless links of language and history, yet by the so called Elohist would appear to be the most incoherent and unintelligible of writings. Its parts have no proportion or harmony. It accounts for nothing; it leads to nothing. The vivisection "splitting up" of chapters and verses, and the complication of details in justification of this arbitrary treatment of the book is no slight argument of the unreality of the whole method of procedure." We have thus far quoted from Dr. W. Kay, (Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta). His small book "Crisis Hupfeldiana" in reply to the 5th part of Dr. Colenso, has other merits of the highest order (besides its brevity). We shall conclude this long reference to the "Elohistic and Jehovistic" theories by a summary of the "arbitrary resolves" in which according to Dr. Kay "lies the strength of this unreasoned Criticism." The satire is no exaggeration, but the literal truth. These "resolves" we may call the Ten Commandments of the destructive school of Criticism, and in their line as characteristic of that school of Critics as "the Creed of a Free Thinker" given in the preceding lecture is of the class to which it refers. They are as follows—

"It has been resolved by them—(1) To consider the sacred names, Elohim and Jahveh (the proper pronunciation of what we read as Jehovah) to belong to different writers; contrary to

the evidence of the book of Genesis itself, and to that of all later writers." (2) That no author shall be supposed capable of writing on different subjects, so that, for example, an account of the creation could not have been written by the person who wrote the history of Joseph; because, the same words are not used! (3) That the above difference of language shall be called a difference of "style," though it has nothing whatever to do with style. (4) To fix upon certain words as "Elohistic," and then to rend out of all "Jehovistic" sections every passage which contains these words, so as to "secure" it for the "Elohist;" a vicious circle which prevades the so called critical analysis (of Dr. Colenso) from beginning to end. (5) To assume from the commencement of the "Analysis" that Genesis is made up of two documents, each of them a work of fiction! What wonder if one who looks through a tinted glass sees things in other than their true colours? (6) To over-rule all difficulties which facts may place in the way of the "critical" theory, by supposing, *ad libitum*, the existence of *lacunæ* where there are none; of intended cancellings where none occurred; of interpolations, inadvertencies, "clumsy" and "half mechanical" writing and even contradictions. (7) That no events which would ruffle the smooth surface of a *priori* probability, shall even be admitted to be historical; though genuine history is full of such events. (8) To consider a prophetic prediction to be impossible, and therefore to suppose that—"all prophecies must have been posterior to the event to which they refer,"—a mere unreasoned assumption. (9) To hold that any notion, however destitute of evidence, if only it be in the way of abstract possibility, conceivable, shall be treated (under cover of the word *may*) as an admissible, probable, and at last, natural premiss of our destructive argument. (10) That at all events we will hold the book of Genesis to be non-Mosaic and its contents to be unhistorical.—In these and the like resolutions, not in logic or philosophy, lies the whole strength of (self-styled) Criticism." (See Dr. Kay's "Crisis Hupfeldiana" pp. 94, 95, Parker 1865.)

11. "The Jehovistic and Elohistic" theory we consider as not proven—the inferences from it certainly of little authority. In asserting the unity of the Pentateuch we admit the probable use

of documents containing patriarchal traditions and direct revelations to the Patriarchs recorded therein. It is obvious that the history from Creation to the time of Moses must have been either revealed to Moses, or received in credible testimony. As we have no information as to the former, we must suppose the latter as most in accordance with the usual mode of the Divine procedure. In all probability the art of writing, if not known before the flood, was in use soon after, as it was known in Egypt before Abraham. These documents, if such were used, do not interfere with the unity of the Pentateuch. Many trustworthy critics as Quarry, Keil, Kurtz, &c., consider that there is observable in Genesis a marked and consistent structural arrangement consisting of a series of "generations," or histories, founded as genealogical relations, but in most cases embracing much more than the particulars of family descent. In one case the word "Toledoth" *i.e.*, generation, is used in a highly figurative sense, as in Genesis ii. 4. Besides the Exordium which consists of Chapter I. and II., verses 1 to 3, Quarry makes 12 Sections—the beginning of each section being marked for the most part by a brief repetition of so much of the previous account as is necessary to make it an intelligible narrative in itself: see chapters, 2, 4, 5, 1, 6, 9, &c., &c. There is generally also some note of time at the commencement of these sections to indicate the date of their commencement, and this structural organisation is a strong proof of the unity of the book (Quarry pp. 321 &c.) When we come to the Book of Exodus we find great need for re-arrangement; and much light has been thrown upon the right order of the narrative and laws, which in our present Hebrew Bible and English translation, are evidently not arranged in the order of time. We quote from the work of the Rev. Benjamin Street, B.A., Vicar of Barnetby le Wold, entitled "The restoration of paths to dwell in," (1872). "The dislocation of texts are such that he who would understand what he reads must either frame an order of sequence for himself or adopt one suggested by some liberal critic."—"For instance in the book of the law as it now stands, the law of divorce, and the law of marriage, run parallel; the impression given by the common arrangement of the text is that the law contemplated divorce at the time that it hallowed marriage, for

Exodus xxi. 10, referring to concubines and divorce, is placed as though it were a supplement to the Seventh Commandment. Our Lord himself had to interfere on this point, and tell the Jewish expounders of the law that marriage had been from the beginning, but divorce tolerated only on account of the inveterate perverseness and hardness of heart of the people. But the Jews had the book on the law as we have, in such disordered arrangement, that they naturally supposed divorce as lawful a thing as marriage," (p. 49.) "As the book of Exodus is now ordered, we are required to believe that Moses wrote the book of the Covenant before he had been commanded to do so, but wrote none after he had been instructed to do it," (p. 65.) A still greater evil is the confusion of the moral with the ceremonial law, "for in Exodus the separate and distinct sources of the moral and of the ceremonial law are indicated, or would be, if the order of events governed the order of the matter," (p. 55.) "Now that the Kingdom of God has been given to the Gentiles, and now that all nations are invited to enter into it, it is above all things necessary that it should be made to appear, as plainly as it did at first, that the Lord set forth the moral law for His people, wherever and whatever nation such might be found. These when He spake He called *My people*. But the ceremonial law was imposed on those whom the Lord called, the people of Moses, *Thy people whom thou broughtest up out of the land of Egypt* (Exodus xxxii. 73, p. 55.) In the view of Dr. Street, the law given on Mount Sinai recorded in Exodus xix. and xx. to verse 17 refers exclusively to the Ten Commandments and the moral law; and that the ceremonial law which follows the second giving of the tables is that which is recorded Exodus, chapter xxxiv.; but, that by a "confusion of matter, the first abode of Moses on Mount Sinai, and the eternal moral law then re-enacted, are interpolated with passages describing his second abode on the mount, and the subsequent temporal institutions of the Levitical code." p. 57. This opinion of Dr. Street's appears to throw a clearer light on the narrative in the Book of Exodus, and his views of the ceremonial law appear to be confirmed by the prophet Ezekiel, who referring to the ceremonial law, as given after the idolatry of the Israelites in the matter of the molten

calf declares in the name of Jehovah, *Whereupon I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live* (chapter xx. 25); so also in St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians (iii. chapter 19 verse) *Whereunto then serveth the law? It was added because of transgressions.* The arrangement proposed by Dr. Street removes many apparent incongruities; he accounts for the dislocation and derangement of the original order by a careless misplacement of the rolls by the priests in charge, by the fact that "in very early times, the various precepts in the book of Exodus were arranged in such order as to exhibit precepts and statutes provided for particular cases of infraction of a law in juxtaposition with the original law: so that the book was made one of ready reference for the judge who had to decide cases. The Temple copy exhibiting the original order and continuity would decay or perish, and the only copies current would be then used by the judges on their circuits or by the priests in adjudicating" (p. 50). The original order was probably Exodus xix., xx. chapter, verse 1 to 26; xxiv. chapter 1, 2, 9-18; chapter 31, verse 18; chapter xxxii., xxxiii., xxxiv.; then turn back to chapters xxi, xxii., xxxiii., xxiv. verse 3 to 8; chapters xxv., xxvi., xxvii., xxviii., xxix., xxx., xxxi., 1 to 17; xxxv., xxxvi., xxxvii., xxxviii., xxxix., xl. the end of the book.

12. We now would call attention—III. To the conclusions of sober matured criticism on this vexed question of the origin and age of the Pentateuch; conclusions which in the main agree, though differing in some details; but on such a question there must be a variety of opinions, according to the relative measure of importance attached to internal evidence, and historical testimony; the conclusions to which we now refer have the merit of general accordance with the statements in the other historical books of Scripture, and with the views generally accepted by the Christian Church, a merit in our eyes, but one which will not be regarded as such by those who in their love of novelty are apt to fancy that truth in theology or criticism, is that opinion which is the farthest removed from the orthodox views of their fathers. The first matured and sober conclusion to which we can refer with satisfaction, is that of Delitzsch (see paragraph 6) especially as modified by Kurtz and Schultz. The second is that of the Rev.

J. J. S. Perowne (in his article on the Pentateuch in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible Vol. 2, p. 784) as follows—" Briefly then to sum up the results of our inquiry, (1) The book of Genesis rests chiefly on documents much earlier than the time of Moses, though it was probably brought to very nearly its present shape, either by Moses himself, or by one of the elders who acted under him. (2) The books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers are to a great extent Mosaic; besides those portions which are expressly declared to have been written by him, other portions and especially the legal sections were if not actually written, in all probability dictated by him. (3) Deuteronomy excepting the concluding part is entirely the work of Moses as it professes to be. (4) It is not probable that this was written before the three preceding books, because the legislation in Exodus and Leviticus as being the more formal is manifestly the earlier, whilst Deuteronomy is the spiritual interpretation and application of the Law. But the letter is always before the spirit; the thing before its interpretation. (5) The first compositions of the Pentateuch as a whole, could not have taken place till after the Israelites entered Canaan. It is probable that Joshua and the elders who were associated with him, would provide for its formal arrangement, custody and transmission. (6) The whole work did not finally assume its present shape till its revision was undertaken by Ezra, after the return from the Babylonish captivity." The third is that of the Rev. George Warrington, author of "Historical Character of the Pentateuch vindicated," (8vo. 1863), "Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch considered," (8vo. 1864) both of them replies to Dr. Colenso parts 1, 2, and 3; they were written by him as "A Layman of the Church of England," as at that time he had no intention of entering the English Church. Like Quarry's Genesis, these books are remarkable for a minuteness of research, which even German indomitable persevering industry cannot excel; apart from their value in this important controversy they are a credit to British learning and critical acuteness. We give in full the Layman's conclusions referring to the work itself for the details (taken from "Mosaic Origin, &c." pp. 149-151.)" The materials of which the first four books are composed appear thus to be of very various dates and characters, the

larger portions however being almost certainly Mosaic. They may be arranged as follows. (1) A series of annals embracing the chief features of primæval and patriarchal history down to the death of Joseph. Date and authorship unknown, but some probably written in Egypt, and all certainly pre-Mosaic. As already remarked, there are some of the Elohist sections which seem to reach back into a still greater antiquity, and especially the narrative of the deluge with its niceties of dates, and the account of the purchase of the cave of Machpelah (Genesis xxiii.) which has all the appearance of a contemporaneous record (see Genesis i. ii. iv., verses 5, 1, 28, 30, 2, &c.) (2) Additional matter referring to the same periods from the pen of Moses, variously inserted among these to enlarge supplement or replace different portions of them (as Genesis ii. 4, iv., v. 29, &c.) (3) An Elohist narrative of the sojourn in Egypt, and the Exodus date and authorship unknown, (Exodus i. ii. xiii., 17, 19.) (4) A Jehovistic narrative of the Exodus and passage through the wilderness, up to the erection of the Tabernacle, including the earlier portion of the Sinaitic laws; also a list of the journeyings in the wilderness written by Moses, (Exodus iii. iv., 18, 20, &c.) (5) A series of laws delivered during the last 39 years of the journey through the wilderness, recorded probably by Moses (Leviticus, i. to vii., &c., &c.) (6) A narrative of the events of the 2nd and 4th years with which these laws have been incorporated, written shortly after the conquest of Canaan. Author unknown, (Leviticus viii. x., &c.) (7) Three isolated narratives concerning Abraham's war with the four Kings, Jethro's visit to Moses, and Balaam's prophecies, probably (in part at least) of foreign origin. (8) A variety of explanatory notes, addition and occasional alteration with a few passages of greater length, chiefly from other ancient narratives, introduced by a writer of much later date, very probably in the days of Saul; out of these diverse materials we believe the first four books of the Pentateuch to have been compiled. The proportion in which they are found may be roughly expressed as follows:—If these four books were divided into 1000 equal parts then (1) the pre-Mosaic annals would make up 164 of them. (2, 4 and 5) The Mosaic portion 576. (6) The later narrative 214. (7) The foreign

records 26. (3 and 8) The Elohistie Exodus, and the last reviser 10 each. About three-fourths of the whole matter contained in them may be ascribed therefore to Moses, or still earlier writers; and nearly the whole of the remainder to his contemporaries. There is only about one per cent. which can fairly be assigned to a later period. The books may justly then be termed the books of Moses, whether we regard their date, their author, or their subject; and the testimony of tradition to their origin be admitted as substantially correct." The fourth is that of Dr. Browne (Bishop of Winchester) from the "Introduction to the Pentateuch" (in the Speaker's Commentary, Vol. I. pp. 2-36) a most satisfactory condensed epitome of the results of Modern Criticism and of common sense, in which the following points are fairly set forth, accompanied by satisfactory reasons; (1) that Moses could have written the Pentateuch; (2) that the concurrent testimony of all subsequent times prove that he did write the Pentateuch; (3) that the internal evidence pointed to him, and to him only as the writer of the Pentateuch. We cannot abridge this admirable document, and it is impossible to give it at length. The introduction will amply repay a careful and repeated perusal, it gives in our opinion the most satisfactory and conclusive evidence to the learned reader, as well as to the English scholar, of the Mosaic origin and Divine authority of the Pentateuch as the foundation document of the old Dispensation. The theories of Delitzsch, of Perowne, Warrington and Quarry, all of them consistent with the most orthodox views of the old school, are encumbered by the ingenuity and complexity of their details necessary to meet the ingenious and complex theories of the writers whose views they oppose. To split up the Pentateuch into a score more or less distinct treatises on alleged niceties of phraseology and style is rather a work of imagination than of sober criticism. Hence the difficulty of controverting the theorists! In reference to Gibbon's Attack on Christianity in the xv. and xvi. chapters of his History, it was wisely remarked "who can refute a sneer?" We may say in reference to the many critical theories "Jehovistic and Elohistie" and others, who can lay a firm hold and grasp on a mere dream? In reading the arguments for and against these theories, resting on imperceptible



niceties of expression, of the exactitude of which we have no satisfactory proof, we seem as if trying to settle boundary lines of regions in fairy land, or as if discussing "the hypothetical relationships of non-existent existences" or the meaning of some such contradictory and non-sensical puzzle. All around us is a world of unreality. There might be some foundation for the exercise of this faculty of nice discernment in the case of a Greek or Latin work, as these languages possess a voluminous literature, which permits the opportunity of comparison and thus facilitates and makes possible the labours of the critic. But in the case of the Biblical books, it is otherwise—they are all that remain to us of their age; they have no contemporary literature with which to compare them, and they of themselves contain but a small portion of the Hebrew language. With Dr. Milman we more than doubt the possibility of this attempt, and so far the diverse and contradictory conclusions of this hypothetical and hypercritical criticism confirm the convictions of common sense. The theories of Delitzsch, Perowne, and Warrington are useful as proving to us that in a stand up fight in cloud-land or in the dark, as well as on firm ground, liberal orthodoxy can fight its battles, and hold its own against the advanced critics. But conclusions resting mainly upon a basis so questionable as the minute niceties of a language, which has not been a living tongue for 2,200 years, and of which so small a portion has survived—and upon a series of minute weighing of words and syllables which it would require a life time to verify, cannot be satisfactory of themselves: and thus while we admire the acuteness of this critical logomachy, our confidence is confined to *the only trustworthy evidence, that of well established credible testimony*. The Jewish Church is the undeniable witness to the Old Testament. The Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles confirm that witness by their direct and unequivocal testimony. The Christian Church is the standing evidence and witness that the testimony of our Lord and his apostles has been faithfully handed down to us. In this testimony and in this only can the intellect be satisfied, and the soul find rest!

13. Our next point is—IV. The claim of the book of Deuteronomy to its place in the Pentateuch. One would think that the

evidence in favour of the genuineness of the Pentateuch in general would apply to the book of Deuteronomy; but there are learned and good men who judge otherwise. Stählein thinks it was written in the time of Saul; De Wette, Lengkerke Vater, Hartmann, Von Bohlen, Valke in the time of Josiah. Bleek thinks in the reign of Ahaz or Hezekiah; Vaihinger decides for Hezekiah; while Ewald, Davidson and Colenso are for Manasseh, though the latter is inclined to a yet latter period, and to think it was written by the prophet Jeremiah. In the opinion of Dr. Colenso it is "one of the most certain results of Modern Criticism," that Deuteronomy was written in the later period of the Jewish monarchy! (Vol. III. 863.) On the other hand Dr. Milman, of whose judgment in doubtful cases, there can be less doubt, remarks in reference to this very book Deuteronomy, its age and authorship as taught by Ewald, "He assumes the composition of the book at this time, with the same peremptory, I had almost said, arrogant confidence, as if he were writing of the composition of the *Æneid* in the time of Augustus, or of the Code and Pandects in the reign of Justinian. Having carefully examined all his alleged reasons, I confess that I cannot discern the shadow of a sound or trustworthy reason even for conjecture. To historical authority there is no pretence." (History of the Jews.) Delitzsch, Schult, Kurtz, Havernick, Hengstenberg, Keil and others, men as undoubtedly as learned as the others, remain faithful to the old traditions of the Jewish Church, and consider the book to be what it professes, the book of Moses. The opponents of the Mosaic authorship, while differing as to the date of the book, differ also as to whether it preceded or followed the first four books in the order of time. Von Bohlen, Vater, Vatke, Genge, Reuss, Kalish, Kuenen, think it was the first written, while the older critics, and De Wette, Ewald, Vaihinger, Stählein and Bleek, think it followed the other four books. All the other objections of the Higher Criticism are given clearly and fully by Dr. Colenso; they are as follows:—I. "There is a very marked difference in language and style between Deuteronomy and the other four books, a large number of ideas phrases and words being found in the former which never occur in the latter, several also in the latter which are absent from the

former. The language is manifestly later and presents a marked resemblance to that of Jeremiah." (Colenso, Part III. p. 391-414: abridged.) Warrington (in "Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch concurred") enters minutely into the question of language occupying 54 octavo pages with details which cannot be abridged, but which fully establish the fact (1) that the differences in phraseology, &c., between Deuteronomy and the earlier books, are for the most part capable of special explanation, in respect of the time and circumstances when they were respectively written, the subjects treated of, method employed, and such like sources of divergence. The remainder being no more than might reasonably be expected to occur between works of the same author written at so considerable an interval of time. (2) The enormous difference in phraseology, style and tone of thought between the book of Deuteronomy and the prophecies of Jeremiah, render it utterly incredible that he could have written this concluding portion of the Pentateuch. (3) The striking unity of style between Deuteronomy and such portions of the earlier books as are sufficiently alike to be used for comparison, furnishes a strong additional ground for believing these authors to be identical. The next objection of Bishop Colenso is—II. There are numerous discrepancies between the narratives and laws recorded in Deuteronomy and in the earlier books which prove their diverse origin. The difference in the laws are just such as would be likely to arise from a considerable difference in date and the altered circumstances of the times consequent thereon. Warrington's reply is (1) In no case do these involve the slightest contradiction, in respect to the events spoken of, but rather, by furnishing us with proof of the perfect independence of the two records tend to establish the truthfulness of their statement more strongly than before. The only point is in the chronological order of certain details which is explained by the fact that Moses in these addresses was not narrating a history but illustrating from history his exhortations. (2) The differences of the laws are in appearance merely, such as arise from greater fullness and circumstantiality in one or other of the laws compared, and therefore quite compatible with common origin, or from alterations arising out of the change of the times

and circumstances since the first laws were promulgated. No reason for ascribing the laws in Deuteronomy to a later date than the conquest of Bashan, or to any other law-giver than Moses. Dr. Colenso lays great stress on the differences in the language of the ten commandments in Deuteronomy Chap. V. from that given in Exodus xx., the force of the arguments lying in this that both versions profess to state the identical words spoken by Jehovah from the top of Sinai—Exodus xx. 1, and Deuteronomy v. 22. It is obvious that the phrase "*these words*" does not refer to the exact language, or to the remarks appended to the several laws, but simply to the Laws themselves—to the "*ten words*" (Deuteronomy x. 4) by which is meant the ten laws or Commandments themselves, apart from the reasons given or other remarks appended which are not part of the "*ten words*" spoken by Jehovah, but are the comments of the historian. Another objection of Dr. Colenso is that, in the earlier laws a clear distinction is everywhere maintained between Priests and Levites, while in Deuteronomy they are all spoken of, as one body, as if no distinction existed between them. In the earlier books the Priests are always called "*sons of Aaron*," and never "*sons of Levi*," while in Deuteronomy the contrary is the case. Warrington's reply is (1) that the term, "*the Priests, the Levites*," is used in Joshua (and also in Malachi ii. 4, Ezra x. 5, Nehemiah xi. 20.) but this variation of phraseology does not imply that the distinction as to the Priesthood confined to the sons of Aaron was abolished, as every one admits that the distinction existed in full force after the exile. Originally the Priesthood among the Israelites was an office belonging to the first born of any family, but owing to the sin of the people in the matter of the golden calf, Aaron and his sons who had been specially appointed as "*Priests unto Jehovah*," (Exodus xxviii. 13.) This priesthood not apparently at first intended to supplant the priesthood of the first born, was confined to the family of Aaron, and the tribe of Levi accepted in lieu of the first born (Exodus xxxii. 26). Thus the Aaronic priesthood became the head of a priestly tribe. This reply of Warrington's is satisfactory, though the objection itself is so childish, that its only claim to notice is from the new theory which the "*Higher Criticism*" has been endeavouring to

work into shape this last few years, namely that the Levitical ordinances of the Pentateuch are later than the Prophetic period!! The third class of objections by Dr. Colenso—III. is that there are many anachronisms and other signs of time, which negative at once all idea of Mosaic origin. Many of these anachronisms all in fact pointed out by Dr. Colenso are carefully investigated by Warrington in 47 pages, in which every case is fairly discussed and satisfactorily met. The same has been done by Dr. Murphy of Belfast, in a minute account of twenty-one supposed irreconcilable facts in an article in the British and Foreign Evangelical Record, January, 1878; also by a writer in Church of England Quarterly, October, 1877. One objection is of importance as bearing on the present favourite theory advanced by certain Critics as to the comparatively late origin of many of the laws, and ritual of the Mosaic institutions recorded in the Pentateuch. The objection is that "in Deuteronomy xii. 11-19, all sacrifices are to be offered in a Central Sanctuary not then fixed, yet Samuel, David, Solomon and other pious kings offered sacrifices on the high places; and in Exodus xx. 24 many places are mentioned as acceptable for worship, that is for public sacrifice. Warrington's reply is—(1) that Deuteronomy xii. and Exodus xx. 24 are confirmatory of the law. When the command recorded in Exodus was given, the Sanctuary was moving with the people in their journeyings, and the promise is "*In all places where I mention my name, I will come unto thee and I will bless thee;*" but when the command was given in Deuteronomy, it had reference to the settlement of the nation in the land of Canaan, when the Sanctuary was about to be fixed. (2) There can be no doubt of the frequent neglect of this law, the object of which was to check the very beginnings of idolatrous observances, and to maintain the unity of the nation: but this is no proof of the non-existence of the law, or even of the denial of its authority by many who occasionally or frequently dispensed with it. The cases of Samuel, David and other worthies are doubtful, as at that time it seems probable that the Sanctuary was considered as having given a sanctity to every place in which it had been temporarily stationed, as Gibeah, Bethel, &c.; but apart from these instances, whether justifiable or not,

there can be no doubt but that the influence of the old traditions of a family, or tribal worship, the convenience of local sanctuaries owing to the distance from Shiloh, Bethel, &c., or Jerusalem, the difficulty of travelling rendered this class of breaches of the strict law of worship to be regarded as venial sins; so in Solomon's reign before the Temple was built, he himself and the people sacrificed and burnt incense in high places "*because there was no house built unto the name of the Lord until those days.*" (1 Kings iii. 2). Even after the temple was built the habit and the convenience of local places for sacrificial worship continued in spite of the efforts of the pious kings to carry out the Mosaic law; at length Hezekiah and Josiah succeeded in putting down this license which had no doubt led to the corruption of the Mosaic ritual. It is probable that many of the Mosaic laws which involved personal sacrifice were frequently disobeyed, and possibly became practically null, as the sabbatical year and that of jubilee; but this does not imply that the ancient law was not in existence, on the contrary this appears as assumed as a fact in all the historical and prophetic books. Another monstrous theory of Dr. Colenso's and his class of Critics, is that Deuteronomy was composed by the prophet Jeremiah, with the concurrence of Hilkiah the priest and Huldah the prophetess—then placed in the Temple where Hilkiah found it. (2 Kings xxii. 3.) Some of these Critics also think that in this forgery the entire Pentateuch originated!!! but in these suppositions they see more than is seen in the narrative. Hilkiah recognizes the book as "*the book of the Law of the Lord by the hand of Moses,*" (2 Chronicles xxxiv. 14,) a book with which to some extent he was already partially acquainted; probably it was the original autograph of the Covenants of God with Israel, which was committed by Moses to the Levites to be placed *beside the Ark*. (Deut. xxxi. 26.) It was a document not for common use but for a memorial like the two tables of stone. The ignorance of the King of the Law of Moses is easily accounted for. In the 64 years following the death of Hezekiah the Law of Moses had been generally neglected, and also before Hezekiah's reign, and copies of the Law had become rare; the Mosaic ritual was from

long use well known to the priests, from the necessity of its daily observance in the routine of the Temple service, the feasts, and holy days, well known as the practices of the Israelitish people. No wonder Josiah was ignorant of its spiritual import, and of the bearing of its heavy denunciation until some portions were read to him. There is no improbability in its being the original autograph of which mention has already been made—a MSS. of 7 to 800 years old; this is quite possible as we have Greek MSS. of the New Testament of 14 or 15 centuries, and Egyptian papyri of a much greater ages. The fact that the copy found was recognized as the Law of Moses, and at once obeyed is a proof that it was in accordance with all the reminiscences of the priests and others of the Law of Moses as known to them or their fathers. Apart from this *the forgery* of such a document by either prophet or priest, and its immediate acceptance by the king and his advisers; and the fact that this supposititious work produced at once an entire change of action on the part of the governing power, and was at once submitted to by the backsliding people are irreconcilable: but a forgery of the history and legislation of a nation was an impossibility under the circumstances of the case. It is as difficult a supposition as that of the learned Jesuit Hardouin already mentioned; that most of the ancient Classics of Greece and Rome were composed by the Monks of the middle ages, but here we must rest. In a lecture we are not able to go into the lengthened discussion, which the notice of every, even the smallest supposed anachronism or discrepancy would require. With most students of the Bible I have carefully gone through seventy of this class of what are called discrepancies and contradictions. In some of the cases few English readers, except a man trained and exercised as a sort of literary detective expert would have noticed any discrepancy at all. In other cases a fair comparison of text with text gives a ready and natural explanation. In others there are difficulties arising out of obsolete language, and our ignorance of the usages and internal economy of ancient nations. Here and there anachronisms are found which are undoubtedly interpolations, which originally placed as notes have by the carelessness of transcribers found a place in the text. A good Com-

mentary on the Bible ought to notice every one of these fully—but such a commentary, has yet to be written. It would help to check the flippant pretences to scepticism current in certain circles, which generally may be traced to the want of an easy and ready access to sources of correct information.

14. Briefly we come to the (V) Biblical testimony to the Mosaic origin and authority of the Pentateuch. Here it is not necessary to particularize—the margins of the English Bible contain references to the Pentateuch from Joshua to Revelation. The most judiciously selected references in the margin are to be found in the Cambridge Paragraph Bible edited by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener, for the Syndics of the University Press (4to. 1873.) The best condensed view of this branch of evidence to the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch is to be found in the introductions in the Speaker's Bible by Bishop Brown, to which reference has already been made. The arguments in favor of this, the commonly received opinion of the Churches, are almost inexhaustible. We have mainly confined ourselves to the literary evidence in reply to the verbal Critics. The treatises of Hengstenberg, Keil, Warrington, the articles in Smith's and Kitto's Dictionary, the numerous replies to Dr. Colenso and others must be referred to as helps by those who desire to master the entire subject. For the general reader a little book by Warrington "When was the Pentateuch written," published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, gives an amount of condensed information of the most conclusive and satisfactory character.

In the next Lecture, the 4th, we hope to call attention to the Historical Credibility of the facts recorded in the Pentateuch, the Moral and Theological teaching, and the Scientific objections to some of its statements.

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## LECTURE IV.

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(PART THE SECOND.)

1. In this Lecture our object is to call attention to the Historical credibility of the facts recorded in the Pentateuch, its Moral and Theological character, and the Scientific objections to some of its statements. On some of these points we must maintain a brevity, rendered necessary by the limits of a lecture, but we shall in all cases endeavour to refer those interested to works which supply more full and satisfactory information. We purpose to use the following arrangement—

I. The Chronology of the Pentateuch. II. The historical narrative and some issues arising out of it. III. The Scientific questions involved. At the outset, once for all, we wish to express our decided conviction that the inspired record (the Bible) is not committed to any system, whether of Chronology or Science, and that consequently we do not charge either with Heterodoxy or Scepticism, those whose views in these respects differ most widely from the commonly received impressions of Christian people. It has been wisely ordered that on all matters which have no direct bearing on our moral relations to God, and our duties to man, the Revelation contained in the Bible has given no dogmatic decision. A vast field is thus left for the natural, unfettered, healthful, and expansive exercise of man's intellectual faculties. Excluding of necessity as utterly inconsistent with the Religious idea, those aberrations of the intellect which are known by the name of Atheism, Materialism, and Pantheism; there are none of the speculations of Philosophy or Science, none of the systems of Chronology or Archeology, in themselves necessarily inconsistent with the full acceptance of the truths which owe their authority to our views of the Divine origin and inspiration of the Bible. The sacred writers give us facts not Philosophies: there are dates but no systems of Chronology: a history of Creation, but no Cosmogony.

2. To begin then with I. The Chronology of the Pentateuch (1) The book itself is not responsible for the systems professedly derived from the dates found in the present text, either of the Hebrew, or of the Samaritan, or the Septuagint versions. In the opinion of most Critics their dates are all incorrect, partly by errors of transcription, and partly from intentional changes made as corrections by subsequent systematizers. The Hebrew Bible reckons 1656 years (calculated from the patriarchal ages) to the Flood. The Septuagint which Josephus follows 2262. The Samaritan 1307. In the interval between the Flood and the call of Abram the Hebrew reckons 292 years—the Septuagint 1072—the Samaritan 942. To reconcile these discrepancies is impossible. The learned generally incline to the larger Chronology founded on the Septuagint, as in the System of Hales (corrected by Russell.) The shorter chronology founded on the Hebrew is that of Archbishop Ussher: that of the Jewish Rabbis (obviously and absurdly curtailed) is shorter still. These irreconcilable differences will be seen when placed in juxtaposition.

The Creation B.C...	Hales 5,441	Ussher 4,004	Bunsen 20,000	Bunsen, 10,580
„ Flood .....	„ 3,155	„ 2,348	„ 10,000	„ [Jun. 2,360
„ Call of Abram...	„ 2,078	„ 1,961	„ 2,870	„ 1,993
„ Exod. from Egypt	„ 1,648	„ 1,491	„ 1,320	„ 1,563
„ Solomon Temple	„ 1,027	„ 1,012	„ 1,040	„ 971

Bunsen's dates of the Creation and the Flood are outside the pale of criticism. To quote the language of a friend and admirer—"He was an ardent lover of truth, but had a certain preference for seeking it, through unwonted and obscure paths, not always opening into clear day, even to himself." (Sir Henry Holland's Recollections.)

The conclusion to which we come is that until the time of Solomon the Chronology of the Bible cannot be correctly ascertained. (2.) We must now turn to the claims to an enormous antiquity advanced by the historians of certain ancient nations. The Egyptians whose chronicles according to the priest Manetho (280—250 B.C.) record a Mythological rule of gods and demi-gods for many thousands of years, begin the earthly rule with Menes, the first king after whom thirty-one dynasties up to the Persian Rule. How far these dynasties were successive or partly contem-

poraries is the vexed question of Egyptologists; all however, except Mariette and Lenormant regarding some of them as contemporaneous, though not by any means agreeing in the application of the rule, differing as to the dynasties, and their duration, and of course in the chronological results. Between the highest date and the lowest fixed for the reign of Menes, is a difference of no less than 2,300 years.

Mariette and Lenormant	B.C. 5,004	Baron Bunsen (early view)	3,623 B.C.
Brugsch	" "	4,440	" (later view) 3,059 "
Lepsius	" "	3,892	Stuart Poole..... 2,717 "

As the Egyptians had no system of Chronology, as the numbers in Manetho are to a large extent corrupted either by the errors of transcribers or the amendments of System-makers, as the monuments and the papyri are imperfect, and give no dates, but the years of the particular king to which they belong, these dates have no claim to be received except as expressing the opinions of the writers. (3.) The Babylonians by their historian Berosus (279—255) after claiming a mythological history of 432,000 years, and another of 34,000, begin the first of seven human dynasties 2,458 B.C. Baron Bunsen thinks that a Turanian Dynasty was established at Babylon 7,000 to 8,000 B.C.! (4) So also with the equally extravagant chronologies of ancient Bactria, India and China; there is in the opinion of the learned no probability in any hypothesis tracing the origin of these or any of the nations of antiquity, before the 27th Century prior to the Christian Era. The difficulty is not with the reconciliation of their claims to the Biblical Chronology, for no such a System exists: but to reconcile them with well known facts admitted by all. For instance, no one denies that about six centuries previous to our era, the shores of the Mediterranean and the banks of the Euphrates appear to have been the chief seats of national progress and of civilization. Within five centuries following, the military power, the arts, science, legislation and literature of Greece and Rome had included all Southern Europe, Northern Africa and Western Asia into one compact Empire. All this the result of the expansion of a handful of petty states in Greece and Italy, and their consolidation under the leadership of Rome! And all accom-

plished within 500 years! Now if we are to believe the wilder schemes of Egyptologists, Egypt was a mighty Empire from between 5000 to 3000 B.C., as well as in the following years. If so, according to all our experience of the tendency of such great states, especially in the conscious maturity of their power, to expand, and absorb the neighbouring territories, we naturally ask for the monuments of this great power, which ought now to be found in Northern, Central and Eastern Africa. Is it likely that the teeming millions of a civilized population increasing rapidly for so many generations, could be confined to the valley of the Nile between the Cataracts and the Mediterranean? The monuments of Grecian and Roman greatness are found in every country over which Roman sway was exercised, although hordes of barbarians from the North and some from the South had from the fourth to the seventh century after Christ, overturned the Roman power, and almost effaced Roman civilization. But out of Egypt, with some few exceptions, there are no monuments of Egyptian greatness, no trace of their presence (until within 1800 B.C. it may be in Greece and Syria.) What were the Egyptian rulers doing? In what field were their natural activities employed? Where did they find vent for their energies? Learned men have attempted to account for this on the supposition that Egypt was a country isolated as Japan was from the rest of the world. But this is disproved by the admitted fact that the kings of ancient Egypt, from 1800 B.C., are found engaged in wars with the Khita of Syria and the kings of Assyria; and that Egypt had been repeatedly invaded by Nomad tribes from the East. It is difficult to suppose that Egypt was a powerful monarchy from 3000 to 5000 B.C., and that during these ages, Northern, Central and Eastern Africa formed no part of her dominion, and can at this day exhibit no monuments of her architectural skill, as the memento of her occupancy and military power. Look at the parallel case of China; from small beginnings its people, language and literature have spread over the whole of Eastern and Central Asia, within a period of time commencing not earlier than 2000 years before our era. Had Egypt been the site of a powerful kingdom at so early a period as 5000—3000 B.C., its power would have been felt and its

civilization carried over the neighbouring portions of the Continent. That this was not the case can only be explained by what are probably the real facts of the genuine history of Egypt. Like other ancient kingdoms, that of Egypt was the result of the amalgamation of several petty tribal royalties; its progress was checked from time to time by civil contests, and by the invasion of Nomad tribes. The immeasurable antiquity ascribed to it, so far as it depends on Manetho's dynasties, is as true as would be that of the English monarchy, if all the years of the reign of the contemporary kings of the Heptarchy were reckoned backward from the commencement of the reign of Egbert! which would have given an addition 3 or 4000 years to our monarchy! When the writer of Numbers xiii. 22, tells us incidentally that Hebron *was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt*, he obviously quotes records of the past which did not materially differ in their computation of time from those of the Hebrew people. No system of chronology so far put forth for any ancient people, can with any shadow of probability exceed the period which in the larger chronology of the Septuagint is assigned to the flood.

3. When we carefully study II. The historical narrative in the Pentateuch, we trace in its pre-historic annals the records and traditions preserved in the patriarchal families Antediluvian and Postdiluvian in the line of Seth, through the faithfulness of *holy prophets which*, to use the language of Zacharias, *have been since the world began*. (Luke i. 70.) It is singular that these ancient traditions have been preserved in a somewhat mutilated and corrupted shape by the Babylonian, Chaldean, and Assyrian populations inhabiting the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris. In the brick tablets in cuneiform characters these invaluable monuments have been the reward of the research and learned labours of the Archeologists of our day. They relate to the Creation, the law of the Sabbath, the Fall, the Antediluvian World, the Flood, the Tower of Babel, the dispersion of the human race, the beginnings of Babel and Nineveh, and are in substantial accord with the narrative preserved to us in the book of Genesis. These monuments though useful as illustrating the Biblical narrative, and proving the notoriety and general diffusion of the knowledge of the great facts of the early history of man-

kind, are not necessary to vindicate its authenticity or verity. It is one of the weaknesses of the believers in Revelation to lay too great a stress on historical coincidences which are confirmatory of Scriptural statements, as if such could add any weight to the highest and most conclusive authority which even as a mere history, the Book possesses in itself. One striking peculiarity of these Pentateuchal histories is their brevity. We have the first beginning of the histories of nations but no universal history, no satisfaction of a mere rational curiosity, which however dignified and praiseworthy is not the business of Revelation to gratify. It is left to be the reward of research: the language of the Sacred Writers is also adapted to the limited range of thought in the infancy of the human race, and to their equally limited notions of territorial extent and of other matters now made quite familiar to us. We greatly mistake in bringing to the interpretation of this simple chronicle the ideas of the nineteenth century, and in attempting to re-cast its thoughts in the mould of our civilization. Hence arise the Geological, Ethnological, Linguistical, and other controversies, all of them foreign to the object for which the Bible revelation was given, and which are the result of seeking in the Sacred record that which it was never intended to teach. On the other hand, the Pentateuchal narrative being a relation of human affairs, and of a special and peculiar people under a Divine administration outwardly and openly manifested, records instances of miraculous interventions along with the ordinary routine of events. To us who live under a dispensation in which the action of the Moral Governor of the Universe is but dimly recognised through the veil of secondary causes, all this appears strange and unreal. In the Biblical narrative which refers at once to the Divine Will carried out by Divine power, of which secondary agents are but the unconscious instruments, all this *miracle* is natural within the Biblical sphere. For obvious reasons we do not look ordinarily for such manifestations outside that sphere.

4. Keeping in view these sober principles in the interpretation of Biblical history, we now turn to the events recorded. (1.) The narrative of the Creation give us briefly the facts, a moral lesson, not a scientific cosmogony: pointing to the one God as Creator,

a protest against Polytheism, Idolatry, Materialism and Pantheism: a progressive preparation of the earth for the habitation of man, limited to six days or epochs, the special work of each of which is given, and it is worthy of remark that the obvious correspondence in their order, of these details to the discoveries of modern science are now beginning to be perceived and admitted by our Geologists. (2.) The institution of the Sabbath, the gift to the labourers of every class of one seventh part of time as their own peculiar property, consecrated as the labourers own, and thus secured by Divine grant, from the pressure of unreasonable employers, and the avidity of capitalists, to be to all men a period of rest and of intellectual and spiritual refreshment. (3.) The parents of the human race, placed under moral and positive law in their state of innocence, appointed to regular and pleasurable labour, the divine arrangement for the healthful development of our faculties! The history of their temptation and fall, their sentence and expulsion from Paradise, their reprieve and the cheering promise of a future deliverer; here we have the facts which account for the imperfect moral condition of our fallen but redeemed race, and which explain the nature of our relations to our Maker. We have no Philosophical theory or profound Theosophy, but simply the fact that moral evil was the result of the abuse of that moral freedom which is the essential condition to the formation of moral character. This is the key to the moral and spiritual history of our race, and of all the difficult problems connected with our humanity. (4.) The antediluvian world with its singular longevity as given in the genealogies of the patriarchs—its gradual depravation—its pious reformer Enoch, and its one great man Noah. To the reminiscences of this wonderful old world, we may trace the germs of the mythological histories and chronologies of many ancient nations. The human remains which are found in the strata assigned by Geologists to the epoch preceding the present geological epoch, are regarded by Lenormant and Dawson as those of the Antediluvian races; (See Dawson's *Origin of the World*, p. 320.) The general unfavourable condition of human life before the flood (Genesis iii. 17-19: v. 29: ix. 17) is described graphically by Lenormant, in the light of paleontological discoveries



(Vol. I. p. 25-6). (5.) The flood—the ark—the family of Noah. How far the flood extended is not clear from the language used, as the terms are capable of both an unusual and a limited application. Compare Genesis vi. 11, 12, 17, 19, 24 with Genesis xli. 56-57 and Deuteronomy ii. 25. There are those who on Scriptural grounds (very slight indeed) contend for a pre-adamic race, and those who would confine the destruction of the human race by the flood to the family of Seth: Lenomant Vol. I. p. 45. McCausland in his "Adam and the Adamites," and "the Builders of Babel," and also the writer of the article entitled "Genesis of the Earth and Man," edited by R. S. Poole, favor these theories from their supposed utility in reference to certain ethnological problems, and consider them to be capable of Scriptural proof. To us they appear to create as many or more difficulties than they explain or remove. But we must not class these learned Christian men with the Sceptical school. One of our great mistakes has been to raise simple and innocent paradoxes into the rank and dignity of Heresies, but the Christian Church, firm in the faith, and by the enlargement of its mental horizon saved from the fears which in times past were associated with the spectre of doubt, has grown wiser. In the judgment of charity we conclude that when on such points learned and Christian men differ, the exact meaning of the narrative in reference to these matters is not so clear or decisive as we were wont to imagine. (6.) The original seat of the human family is a point of some interest. In all probability the Arrarat of the Book of Genesis is part of the great central range far to the east of Armenia, bordering on the central plateau through which the Oxus and Jaxartes flow, the well known supposed original seat of the Aryan and Indo Japetan races. In the 10th Chapter of Genesis we have a remarkable Ethnological table of the leading races descended from the sons of Noah, probably however confined to the nations known to the Israelites and Southern Asiatics. Into the speculations of Biblical Ethnologists from Bochart downwards we will not enter—they may be found in any elementary history, and are no doubt in the main correct. There is little difficulty in pointing out the Shemitish races, the Japetan or Aryan races, and the Turanian or Hamite races. It is probable

that a portion of the latter first moved from the central original seat of the Noachic family—perhaps part of them journeyed “from the East,” to Shinar, and attempted the building of Babel; and from thence their language being confounded, they were scattered far and wide. It is singular that while all the Aryan and Shemitish languages are more or less regular in their gramatical formation and in their derivations of words from roots to which they can be traced, the Turanian languages are characterized by peculiarities altogether contrary; they are the least developed, and their vocabularies apparently arbitrary and disconnected, in this respect offering a remarkable contrast to the Shemitish and Japetan races. May not this peculiarity confined to this class of languages be traced to the confusion of tongues at Babel? It is also certain that portions of these Hamite races made the first advance from the pastoral and agricultural state to the more artificial and complete organization of political life in towns: they first occupied the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, the land of Shinar, Babylonia and Chaldea, and Ethnologists suppose that not only Egypt and Ethiopia, but also the first Ugro-Finnish, Tehudish inhabitants of Europe, the Scythian and Mongolian tribes of Turkestan and Central Asia, as well as the Dravidian nations of Hindoostan belong to this race, which would thus appear to comprize the extremes both of ancient civilization and barbarism. Among these races originated the earliest form of Idolatry, the worship of Spirits supposed to reside in inanimate objects: this is called Shamanism in Northern Asia, Shintoism in Japan, and Animism by the historians of Babylonia: then followed the worship of the Heavenly bodies, and the more familiar Polytheism. The spread of the Shemitish and Japetic races from the central seat probably commenced considerably later. In all their settlements we find them preceded by Turanian races. The days of Peleg (Genesis x. 25), which according to Hales chronology followed soon after the death of Shem (2654 B.C.) may have seen the commencement of the general migration from that centre about 500 years after the flood. From that period to within the last 500 years, the history of the more settled and advanced communities of Europe, Asia, and Africa, is a record of the

invasions of migrating nomad tribes, and their intrusion upon the peace and order of more civilized nations.

5. When we turn to the primitive nations connected with the Biblical narrative from the dispersion to the Exodus from Egypt we are struck with the favourable position in which the student is now placed in comparison with his predecessors half a century ago. Then, a few lines in Genesis x. 8—12, and xiv. 1—14, comprized the whole of our information as to the beginnings of the early Kingdoms of Babylon, Assyria, and the East, with the exception of the additional light or rather darkness which the fragments of Berosus the Chaldean, the questionable Sunchaniathan the Phœnician, and the romances of the Greek Historians threw upon the subject. Stackhouse, Shuckford, Hales, Russell, and Calmet (Taylor's Edition) laboured to give consistency to the pseudo-chronicles of the heathen nations, and to reconcile them with the Biblical history, and succeeded as far as their materials permitted. Bishop Gleig's edition of Stackhouse 3 vols. 4to, is very valuable, and may be consulted with advantage. Our day has been favoured by historians of a far higher character. Dr. Smith, of Camborne, has done much to methodize and illustrate the Biblical History. Dr. Milman and Dean Stanley have breathed life into the dry bones of antiquity; their great defect is the absence of the prominence which in Sacred History should be given to its main object, which is to point to the fulness of the time for the manifestation of Christ (Galatians iv. 4.) In spite of all our interest and admiration in the perusal of their histories, we cannot but think of "the play of Hamlet, *minus the part of the Prince of Denmark.*" Within the last 30 years the researches of Botta, Layard, Rawlinson, Geo. Smith, (of the British Museum,) and others, the antiquities of Nineveh, Babylon, &c., have been explored, the inscriptions clearly traced and translated, and the national records to some extent laid open to us. So also in Egypt through the labours of the well-known Egyptologists of England, France, Italy and Germany. The records found in Babylonia and Assyria and Persia are partly in inscriptions, as on the rock of Behistan, but chiefly stamped on bricks or small slabs, in what is called the arrowheaded, or

cuneiform (wedge-shaped) characters. This singular literature is of a remote antiquity, the more ancient not later than 2000 B.C. Large collections of the records of the land were in these shapes stored up by Sargon, King of Accad (North Babylonia) 1600 B.C., each tablet catalogued and numbered for the convenience of reference. The Assyrian Monarch, Assur Bani-pal (673 B.C.), son of Esarhaddon and grandson of Sennacherib, had inherited a large library at Nineveh and added to it the plunder of the record-chambers of Babel, Erech, Accad and Ur, or had copies made by his scribes. Hence the preservation of the Izdubar legends of the flood—and another of the Creation, the Flood and the Tower of Babel probably written earlier than the time of Abraham. It would require a volume to explain how and when these records were brought to light, and by what process of human ingenuity and indomitable patent perseverance they were deciphered, their reading ascertained, and the languages recorded to order, and the translation into modern language made and verified. To the writings of Heeren, Layard, the Rawlinsons and George Smith as being accessible to the English reader, we specially refer the curious who have the taste and leisure for these enquiries. We must refer to these antiquaries, to Sayce's *Lecture on Babylonian Literature*, 8vo., and to the admirable brief histories published by the Society for P.C.K. in Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Egypt, for the results bearing on (1) the remote history of Babylonia and Chaldea, and the neighbouring Elam, or Persia. Undoubtedly the first race which ruled in Babylon was the Cushite, represented by the Biblical Nimrod; this race is regarded by Ethnologists as Turanian, and may have ruled from 2500 B.C. to 2000 B.C., when a Shemitish people succeeded. The Babylonian and Chaldean territory under this race contained some petty kingdoms—Babel, Erech, Accad, Shinar, &c.—occasionally subject to Elam, a Shemite State; then an Elamite ruler over Babylon itself, 1575 B.C.; followed by an Arabian Dynasty until about 1300 B.C. when Babylon was conquered by Assyria. Chaldea was a province forming the Southern part of Babylonia; its population appears to have had considerable influence in Babylonian affairs, and are evidently named as ruling co-equals. (2.) Persia *i.e.*,

Elam was sometimes subject to, sometimes ruling over Babylon, or as in the case of Chederlaomer, extending its conquests over Syria and Canaan. (2.) Assyria began in the foundation of Nineveh by Assur, the Assyrian, who went from Babylonian territory, and was the remote founder of the Assyrian Kingdom—whether near the time of Nimrod or later is difficult to say. The Assyrian records vindicate the accuracy of the Biblical origin of Assyria from the mistakes of the Greek Historians. There appears to have been according to some Archeologists an emigration of Shemitish tribes in the time of Abram from Ur to Haran in Mesopotamia, along with that, in which Abram's father was the leader. Assyria was subject to Babylon until 1820 B.C. when it became independent. In the 11th to the 14th Century before Christ the rival powers of Egypt and Assyria made Syria and the coast line of Palestine their battle ground, mainly for supremacy over the Khita of Syria (the Hittites of Scripture). The armies of Egypt keeping to the low lands of the coast, or conveyed by ships avoided in their campaigns collision with the Israelitish people in the central high lands of Palestine. (3) The Canaanite Tribes descended from Ham, originally settled near the Persian gulf, emigrated to Palestine, supplanting an earlier population, a short time before the arrival of the patriarch Abram, in connection with whose history their recent occupancy of the land is noticed (Genesis xii. 6.) These tribes unequal in importance, and without strict political organization became a more easy conquest to their Israelitish invaders. The Sidonians and Arvadites became the Phœnician people, whose chief towns Sidon and Tyre have a name in history. The Hittites, the most numerous and warlike, occupied part of Syria, and as the Khita are celebrated in Egyptian records. (4) The true history of Egypt is being gradually eliminated from the mass of papyri and monumental records, all fragmentary and some of them difficult to comprehend: the chronology remains almost as unsettled as ever. No one can state with confidence where Menes reigned, or when the Hyksos or Shepherds conquered Egypt or when they were expelled. No one can give with certainty the name of any of the early Pharaohs connected with the Bible history. At a very early period within 1400 to 1600 B.C., or even earlier, the Egyptian

Monarchs had either fleets, or the control of Phœnician fleets in the Mediterranean, and exercised supremacy over the Peloponessus and the Islands, over Crete and Cyprus, and even over Colchis, on the eastern shores of the Black sea. The legendary history of Greece, on which our great historian Grote poured so much contempt, is receiving substantial vindication from the researches of Archeologists, especially from Schliemann, Gladstone, and Di Cesnola. The Sinaitic peninsula was occupied by the Egyptians, and the land of Midian to the East of the Gulf of Akaba for the sake of the mines—the evidences of their labours in Midian have been recently brought to light by Burton. So far the general impression of the ancient world in pre-historic times is that of a civilization of an advanced luxurious character, accompanied by complex political relations and jealousies similar to those of modern times. The struggles between the civilized and the barbarous races which have continued to within the last three centuries were still more frequent in these ages; the occasional occupancy of civilized countries by the barbarians might serve to correct the peculiar vices and physical destiny of the civilized, but it also checked the progress of the arts and sciences of what we call civilized life. We wait for further discoveries, as by degrees the libraries of Babylon and Assyria are decyphered and translated: this generation may have a light upon the early history of Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, which the past generation never expected to possess.

6. The history of the Israelites from Abraham to the Exodus is no part of this lecture, but it is due to the importance of the subject to quote Dr. Milman's just and eloquent remark (*History of the Jews*, Vol. I. pp. 2-3.) "The religious history of this people is no less singular. In the narrowed slip of land inhabited by their tribes, the worship of One Almighty Creator of the Universe subsists as its only sanctuary. In every stage of society under the pastoral tent of Abraham, and in the sumptuous Temple of Solomon, the same creed maintains its inviolable simplicity. During their long intercourse with foreign nations in Egypt and Babylon, though the primitive habits and character of the Hebrew nation were greatly modified, and perhaps some theological notions engrafted on their original tenets, this primary

distinctness still remains. After several periods of almost total apostacy, it revives in all its vigour. Nor is this merely a sublime speculative tenet, it is the basis of their civil constitution and of their national character. As there is but one Almighty God, so there is but one people under his especial protection, the descendants of Abraham. Hence their civil and religious history are inseparable. The God of the chosen people in their temporal as well as spiritual sovereign: he is not merely their legislator, but also the administrator of their laws. Their land is his gift held from him as from a feudal liege-lord, on certain conditions. He is their leader in war, their counsellor in peace. Their happiness or adversity, national as well as individual, depends solely and immediately on their maintenance or neglect of the divine institution. Such was the common popular religion of the Jews, as it appears in all their records, in their law, their history and their moral philosophy. Hence to the mere speculative inquirer, the study of the human race presents no phenomena so singular as the character of this extraordinary people: to the Christian no chapter in the history of mankind can be more instructive or important, than that which contains the rise, progress, and downfall of his religious ancestors." So also in reference to the connection of the Jewish race with the other ancient nations, Dr. Milman remarks: "Thus the history of this, perhaps the only unmingled race, which can boast of high antiquity, leads us through every gradation of society, and brings us into contact with almost every nation which commands our interest in the ancient world." It will be seen that we do not complain without reason of the indifference of public teachers and of the neglect of parents and guardians in reference to this study so indispensable as the requisite introduction to the history of Mankind. To begin ancient history with that of the East or of Greece, or Egypt, is like the beginning the history of England at the reign of Henry the 7th.

7. We may venture to refer the student (1) to Lenomant's *Sketch of Biblical History* in the first volume of the *Ancient History of the East*, as presenting the liberal but reverent views of a pious Romanist. (2) To the *Students Old Testament History*, published by Murray, and to the same publisher's *Ancient*

History in 3 Vols. 8vo., by Dr. P. Smith: and to many of the exquisite biographical articles in Dr. Smith's Biblical Dictionary, all of these more or less valuable whether we may agree with them or not. (3) To Dr. Milman's History of the Jews, last edition, 3 Vols., 8vo., a work of liberal and broad views, from some of which we may demur, but peculiarly attractive from the reverent spirit which pervades the whole narrative. (4) Ewald's History of Israel, 5 Vols. 8vo., translated by Martineau, has merits which will repay both perusal and consultation, and defects which militate against its usefulness as a history. To those who like to walk and fight on every inch of debateable ground, we can recommend this work as a never failing source of pleasurable excitement. (4) George Smith of Camborne in his Sacred Annals, 4 Vols., introduces the student to the connection of the Israelitish people with the Assyrians, Egyptians and others, and throws great light on subjects of great interest. A work of sense and judgment, and research, but wanting the rhetorical element to attract the general reader. (5) Dean Stanley's "Lectures on the Jewish Church," 3 Vols. 8vo., may be regarded as a manifesto of the opinions of the more advanced broad Church liberals in reference to some of the Biblical questions of the day. In Criticism, slavishly following the Higher Criticism and yielding points which the Orthodox Criticism would hold fast, and maintain, and generally failing in his own judgment when exercising the critical faculty; the tendency of his history (unintentional on the part of the author) is to throw an atmosphere of doubt and uncertainty over all that is miraculous in the Old Testament narrative. His latitudinarian laxity especially manifests itself in its unscriptural views of the moral character of heathenism. To him, the heathen in the emblems of their grossest idolatry are "feeling after God" while the sacred writer St. Paul blames them for "not liking to retain God in their knowledge," (Romans i. 23.) With him the symbols of Paganism prove that there were among the heathen priests some of "the few loftiest minds" who saw behind the many forms and shapes of Idolatry, "one presiding spirit." If such there were the Apostle Paul does not reckon their intelligence as an excuse, but as an aggravation of their sin, because *holding the truth in unrighteousness,*



(Romans i. 8). If idolatry be simply a harmless vagary of the imagination, why should Paul have *his heart stirred in him when* (at Athens) *he saw the city wholly given to Idolatry*, (Acts xvii. 16) and why should the first and second commandment of the Decalogue be so narrow and sectarian, as in fact, on this point are the teaching and spirit which pervades the whole Bible. If Dean Stanley had been brought in actual contact with the workings of Idolatry in India or elsewhere, he would have had more sympathy with the unqualified and unmitigated abhorrence of it expressed by the Prophets of the old Dispensation and the Apostles of the new. Especially do we regret that in reference to the great cardinal truths of Christianity, Dean Stanley speaks in no decided tone; this we believe to be an error of judgment rather than from indifference. He deems it policy to avoid the offence of the cross, and in his published sermon on Good Friday, kept it altogether out of sight, alluding to it simply as "the event of the day." To his mind bent upon noticing points of resemblance rather than of difference, Pusey and Keble, Wesley and Maurice, Milman and Arnold, Newman and Strachey are all alike, true interpreters of the Word of God. This extreme Eclecticism and Syncretism is the natural but unenviable position of this large hearted man, whose intellect like Noah's dove, has as yet found no unshakeable resting place for its feet. Dean Stanley is in fact one of those singular and exceptional natures privileged like some of old, of whom it was said *They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them*. (Mark xvi. 18.) We believe that Dr. Stanley's heart is free from the taint of unbelief, but we must regret that so noble a nature should have been warped and perverted (theologically) by the influence of *a philosophy and vain deceit after the traditions of men, and not after Christ*, (Colos. ii. 8.) The merits of Dr. Stanley's history are of the highest character—the narrative is full of life and spirit—he paints and imprints the picture on the mind, the effect is fascinating—the reader travels through the narrative of 2000 years in company with a loving genial spirit, who sees everything and who can from his stores of knowledge illustrate all he sees. We do not regret that such a work has been and will yet be the most readable and

the most read of Biblical histories, notwithstanding its critical and theological deficiencies. Such works, by their very antagonism to some of our cherished opinions, help to rear men *of full age who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil.* (Hebrew v. 14.) Dr. S. C. Malan in his work entitled "Philosophy or Truth," has criticised the first volume of Stanley's History: his remarks should be read, they are all of them written in a spirit as genial as that of Dr. Stanley himself; we cannot say, with equal power to interest the reader. Dr. Pusey's remarks on Dean Stanley in his 2nd Edition of the Prophecies of Daniel are very much to the point. And in reference to the Biblical History, and with all respect for the modern Historians to whom we have specially referred, the thorough student of the Bible will not neglect Father Calmet, Shuckford, Stackhouse, Russell, Prideux, and Hales. In some matters they have been superseded, but a good book the product of a laborious thinker is never entirely obsolete. Their opinions when taken from themselves direct come with a power of freshness, which often leave an impression that sometimes "the old wine is better than the new."

8. Bishop Colenso and some others regard the narrative of the Pentateuch as unhistorical, mainly on account of the history of the Creation, the Flood, the increase of the Israelites in Egypt, and the circumstances connected with the Exodus of the forty years sojourn in the wilderness. For the present we confine our remarks to the increase of the Israelites in Egypt, the Exodus and the sojourn in the Wilderness. (1) The increase of the Israelites in Egypt. In round numbers the family of Jacob consisted of 70 souls, from which we find in the 2nd generation from Jacob 66 males—how can they increase within 215 years to a population equal to two millions? All reasoning on population based on the Genealogical lists in the Jewish records must be fallacious, as their records were never intended to include all the members of each family; but at a ratio of increase for seven generations, a ratio rather above the average, but warranted by the special promises to the family of Abraham, there is a possibility of the number being raised from the descendants of Jacob, but it is not necessary for us to make this bare

possibility the foundation of our solution of the difficulty: Bishop Colenso's ignorance of the principles which ruled in the genealogical tables of the Jews, led him to under-rate the number of the family of the 2nd generation. The Rabbis, Benish, and Hirschfelder, and the Jewish Association have exposed this error. The Bishop, however, does not state the case properly; he forgets that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were not merely the heads of a family, but of a Tribe. If Abraham could spare 318 servants as a detached party on a warlike expedition, his servants who helped to compose his household must have been upwards of 2000—so also with Jacob—his attendants were large enough to require on his return from Laban two camps: observe too that all these servants were circumcised and regarded as Israelites—their posterity and that of those who united themselves with the Israelites from the Egyptians and Kenites intermarried with the seed of Abram, Caleb the great leader and Othniel his son-in-law were Kenites—and of Caleb it is said, that he was recognized as an Israelite *because he wholly followed Jehovah the God of Israel*, (Joshua xiv. 14.) Intermarriages with heathens, as such, were forbidden, but this did not include proselytes. There was greater strictness in this respect after the exile, rendered necessary by the reduced position of the Jews, and the increasing danger of their being absorbed into the Gentile nations. Consider also the prevalence of polygamy and concubinage, and there will be no difficulty in realizing the fact of the increase of a tribe of several thousand souls in seven generations to the large number recorded as having been led out of Egypt by Moses. It is strange that while Ewald and others could see no difficulty in the increase of the Jewish Tribe, Dr. Colenso should regard this as sufficient in itself to disprove the historical character of the narrative. (2) The circumstances attending the Exodus are suppositions of difficulties raised by Dr. Colenso which can be applied to any one fact in the past history of the world which is out of the ordinary routine of events. It is obvious that in the narrative of such, the most careful and minute record must of necessity give merely the leading particulars, and leave out many minor details as obvious, and not necessary to be given. Warrington and others have, with a

patience as admirable and painstaking (as it is superfluous), examined and replied to the objections one by one, and shown them to be worthless: his paraphrastic narrative of the Exodus p. 92-8, is an admirable lesson illustrating the character of historical narrative, and the possibility of misconceptions like those of Dr. Colenso. (3) The difficulties attending the support of the large flocks of the Israelites in the desert during the forty years, vanish when we take into account the fact, that the flocks and herds brought out of Egypt were for the most part consumed within a month after their departure, and before the second supply of quails. After thirty-eight years, on crossing the Arum, their flocks were again large. Besides the Peninsular of Sinai had then a larger amount of fertile soil and pastures than it now possesses; sufficient for the pasturage of their reduced flocks and herds. The people themselves were supplied by miracle.

9. The Theology of the Pentateuch is that of the Patriarchal fathers of the human race—the result of a revelation from *God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets*, (Hebrew i. 1.) We are not to suppose that there were necessarily no other direct revelations to man, except those especially recorded in the Old Testament. There were *holy prophets which have been since the world began*, Luke i. 70. (See Bishop Horsley's "Dissertations on the Prophecies of the Messiah dispersed among the heathen," in his Sermons 2 Vols. 8vo. 1829.) The "religious idea," (as we call it in the philosophical slang of our day) and which, if it mean what it seems to express, is equivalent to a belief in God, and of our responsibility to Him, is not a thing of man's making or imagining, but a truth from Heaven, (See Ellis Knowledge of Divine things from Revelation, not from Nature, 8vo.) It was handed down in the Patriarchal families. What the Patriarchal faith was in its creed, doctrines or ritual, may be seen in the most interesting exhibition of Patriarchal life in the Book of Job, a book of great antiquity, probably written before the time of Moses: (See J. Mason Good's "Job literally translated &c.," 8vo. 1812: pp. 63.) The Patriarchal faith was Christianity substantially, but in the germ—God as Moral Governor—Man a Sinner—Sacrifice pointing to a future redeemer. The future

state of existence and of retribution is implied in the narrative of the Pentateuch—it is inseparably connected with the doctrine of the immortality of the soul with which the Egyptians were familiar, though held by them in connexion with much that was offensive to Patriarchal simplicity. As such it was well known to the Israelitish people. Dr. Warburton, (afterwards Bishop of Gloucester) in his *Divine legation of Moses* (3 vols. 8vo. 1738—41) denies that the doctrine of future rewards and punishments formed any part of the Mosaic dispensation. In his opinion, the Theocratic Government of the Jewish people, administered under an extraordinary providence with exact equality in the bestowal of rewards and punishments both to the community and the individual, superseded the necessity of the moral influence of the doctrine of future retribution, and that this singular fact is one of the most convincing proofs of the Divine origin of the Mosaic Law. This was in reply to the remarks of Bolingbroke on the singularity of this omission in the Pentateuch, afterwards repeated by Gibbon. Many were the replies: one by Dr. Middleton, and another by William Law, entitled, “A short but sufficient refutation of the Rev. Dr. Warburton’s projected defence (as he calls it) of Christianity, in his *Divine legation of Moses*, in a letter to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London.” This work of Law’s was abridged by Mr. Wesley, and has been recently reprinted. The learning of Warburton does not appear to advantage in his Biblical criticism, but he was undoubtedly the Coryphæus of his age. The originality of his theory did more to disturb the small scholars, great chiefly in the stock platitudes of that dull age, than the implied heresy. In our age rich as it is in its varied and profound literature, few books will repay perusal better than the *Divine legation*: the reader finds every thing he did not expect to find, and forgets the leading crotchet, while admiring and benefiting from the genius of the author. Despite Warburton’s theory, Abraham’s faith however as received in Genesis xv. 6, is substantially that of the Christian believer, and connects and identifies the theology of the Patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations with our own. All the Mosaic institutions were designed to preserve the great Patriarchal truths from the corrupting influence of idolatrous

ideas and usages. There is nothing in our day which can give us any conception of the fascination and power of idolatry. Perhaps the paramount influence and tyranny of fashion in certain circles come nearest to it, both as respects the vanity and folly of the thing itself, and the cowardice and imbecility of those who are enslaved by it. In the moral character of the Pentateuchal legislation, polygamy and slavery, point out its defective character when compared with the higher tone of the Christian rule of duty to man. Our Saviour explains this lower standard of morals as tolerated because of "the hardness of the hearts" of the men of that day, (Matthew xix. 8.) It was the Divine forbearing wisdom which bore with an imperfect state of social life, the evils of which it, to a large extent counteracted by merciful regulations. The destruction of the Canaanish idolatrous and corrupt tribes, by the instrumentality of the Israelites is objected to as contrary to the highest and deepest feelings of humanity. Much has been made of this by Bayle, Bolingbroke, and the English Deists from the Seventeenth Century to the present time: their objections are to some extent founded upon a misconception of the case: as is Bishop Colenso's objection in reference to the Midianites. It is well to understand the facts of the case. The law of the treatment of the Canaanitish tribes is fully given in Deuteronomy xx. 10-18. There is a difference between the conduct directed to be pursued with the nations afar off, and with the seven nations of the Canaanitish specially denounced. To the first the offer of peace was to be made, and on submission they were to become tributary. To the others the result was to be extermination: but this passage must be explained in connection with others. If we refer to Joshua xi. 18-20, *There was not a city that made peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites, the inhabitants of Gibeon: all others they took in battle: for it was of the Lord to harden their hearts (i.e., in righteous judgment to give them up to hardness of heart as a punishment for their guilt) that they should come against in Israel in battle, that he might destroy them utterly, and that they might have no favour, but that he might destroy them as the Lord commanded Moses.* From which it is implied that if any of the tribes or people of Canaan had repented

and had forsaken their idolatry, they would not only have been spared, but like Rahab have been incorporated with Israel. In this we differ from the opinion in the *Speaker's Commentary*, (Introduction to Joshua,) which is to the effect that the special command in reference to the cities of the seven nations, Deuteronomy xx. 15-17, is absolute, and disconnected with the general rule, Deuteronomy xx. 10-14—a conclusion not however warranted by other passages, as for example Joshua xi. 18-20 already quoted, which is the more valuable as incidentally exhibiting how Joshua and the men of his day understood the commands of the great Law Giver. Shuckford (Vol. 3 Book 12) enters fully into the question. Shelden, Grotius, Le Clerc, Gill, Dodd and Maimonides, and others of the Rabbinical Commentators are of the same opinion (see Graves on the Pentateuch pp. 194-7.) The extermination of the Canaanitish races was confined to those which resisted, refusing to accept the only terms consistent with the safety and purity of the Israelitish people, the severest treatment in that case to be the lot of the cities of the seven nations. It was impossible for so foully corrupt a people to be permitted to live independent, and in the uncontrolled practice of their idolatry and corruptions among the Israelitish people. God employed the Israelites as the instruments of his justice, and in directing the destruction of the property and of the persons of the impenitent Idolaters, he guarded against the influence of Israelitish lust after the property, or the possession of the captives as slaves. The extermination was a solemn act of Divine justice and vengeance, a lesson to the ministers of justice themselves, a sentence to be inflicted on any Israelitish city if guilty of like enormities. (Deut. xiii. 13—16.) We quote the pertinent remarks of the late Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, as conclusive. The extract is from "*Sermons chiefly on the Interpretation of Scripture*" (8vo. 4th Edition, 1874, p. 33—4.) "It is better that the wicked should be destroyed a hundred times over, yea, destroyed with everlasting destruction, than that they should tempt those who are yet innocent to join their company. And if we are inclined to think that God dealt hardly with the people of Canaan in commanding them to be so utterly destroyed, let us but think what might have been our fate, and the fate of every other nation

under heaven, had the sword of the Israelites done its work more sparingly! Even as it was the small portion of the Canaanites who were left, and the nations around them, so tempted the Israelites by their idolatrous practices, that we read continually of the whole people of God turning away from his service. But had the heathen lived in the land in equal numbers, and still more had they intermarried largely with the Israelites, how was it possible humanly speaking, that any spark of the light of God's truth should have survived to the coming of Christ." "The Israelites sword in its bloodiest executions wrought a work of mercy for all the countries of the earth to the very end of the world."

10. We now come to consider III, certain scientific questions arising out of the narrative in the Pentateuch. (1.) The theory of *the remote and indefinite antiquity of the human race* has, in our day, been revived by the speculations of Geological Science. Until very recently all Geologists admitted that no traces of human remains had been found in any of the fossil remains of the Geological periods. In 1863, Sir Charles Lyell proved the existence of human remains in deposits of the Post-Pliocene period, (called also Pleistocene) which immediately preceded the more recent deposits which form the crust of the earth. With these then, human relics, were found the remains of animals, most of which are now extinct, and with which man appears to have been contemporaneous, contrary to the usual opinion. The date assigned to the deposits of the Post-Pliocene period depends upon our acceptance of the uniformitarian theory of Lyell, or the opposite one of Murchison. Geologists of the highest character differ on this point, and probably no certain conclusions can be arrived at to settle the rate of the depositions of soils, or gravel, or the formation of strata. The difficulty is as great with those, who are of opinion that the changes in the earlier Geological periods must be measured by the same rate as those now in progress, as it is with those who maintain that "our actual system of slow and almost insensible physical change must not be applied to earlier ages, when some of the causes acted with higher energy, and produced far greater effect in a given time than now, because they operated under conditions of



the earth quite different from what we now perceive." (Quarterly Review, Vol. 114, p. 369.) J. W. Dawson, Principal of McGill College, Montreal, an able and practical Geologist, considers the remains of the earlier and gigantic man found in caves, principally in Belgium and France, as Antediluvian: these were men of Turanian type, great bodily stature and high cerebral organization, contemporary with the Mammoth and hairy Rhinoceros—the later race of small stature resembling the modern Lapps, he regarded as Post-diluvian, being the race expelled by the Celtic races in their occupancy of Europe. (Origin of the World 12mo. 1877, p. 299.) Theories of races previous to Adam have been held by individuals from a remote period, and were revived in the 17th Century by La Peyrere. Dr. McCausland in his "Adam and the Adamites," 12mo. 1868, contends for a pre-adamite race which did not perish in the flood, and in which originated all the varieties of the human family except the Caucasian of which Adam is the progenitor! So also, in a work edited by R. S. Poole "Genesis of the Earth and Man," 12mo. 1860. Both Dr. McCausland and R. S. Poole are Christian believers, appealing to Biblical authority in defence of their views, and write in a devout and reverend spirit; but their speculations are founded, we think, on insufficient data, and create, as we have already remarked, as many difficulties as they remove. The writer of the article in the Quarterly Review, (Vol. 114, p. 417) remarks on Sir C. Lyell's notion of the existence of Man 100,000 years ago, in connection with the fact that there are no remains of his workmanship in existence, except certain flints, the only monuments of his ingenuity! "The immensity of time, with nothing to shew for it, is a heavy incumbrance on the hypothesis:" he adds the pertinent remark. "Even if it were conceded that Geological evidence might support some extension of the ordinary chronology, and this could be done without violence to other testimony, there is certainly no warrant for proceeding many steps in this direction along a slippery path, over which time has gathered many shadows, and along which the torch of science sheds but a feeble and unsteady light." The linguistic argument, on which Baron Bunsen relies, for the remote antiquity of the race is founded on the supposition that as

sundry European languages derived from the Latin required 1500 years to develop fully their peculiarities, how can we believe all the present varieties of human speech to have been formed since the flood. We think that the facts quoted when properly examined are the best refutation of the objection. Specimens of the dialects and changes at different periods within the last 1500 years in the languages which we now call English, French, Spanish, Italian, and even German, prove that all languages without a literature change rapidly. Even in spite of a literature the languages current in England, France, Spain, and Italy, 500 years ago, are scarcely intelligible to ordinary readers in the 19th Century. The views of Woodward in his *Geology of England and Wales* are probably nearer the truth. "This we do know that man lived in this country and Western Europe, with the Lion and hairy Elephant, the Hyena and woolly Rhinoceros. In his description of war and of the chase, he resembled the dwellers on the shores of Arctic seas; and judging from the associated animals, he probably lived in an age, when continental conditions and higher mountains produced much greater extremes of climate than are found in the same countries now. Although we cannot assign a date to his first appearance, we must refer him to a period so remote that wide valleys have been scooped out, and whole races of animals exterminated since his time, but how long it took to bring this about we cannot yet tell." On this point the two schools of Geology, the uniformation and the other differ largely. The utility of these disquisitions into the antiquity of the human race and the early origin of nations, is not to be estimated by any certain and trust-worthy conclusions, on which the mind can rest as truths which are indisputable: we can only arrive at probable results: but in the course of the enquiry much has been elicited to throw light on the past physical history of our earth, and the early condition of sundry branches of the human family. (2.) *The original condition of the human race*; was it that of a low and degraded barbarian, or was it comparatively civilised and humane? Judging from the statements in Genesis, the first man was no savage, though by no means a civilized man after the culture of an Englishman of the 19th Century. He had mental powers and endowments, as well as correct moral

instincts, all of which though deteriorated by the fall, were not extinguished by that change in his moral position. What we know of the Antediluvian races is brief and vague, but it implies gradual progression in the arts of life, not from a savage state, but from the simplicity of a pastoral and agricultural life. But in the deposits of the more recent Geological periods, and downwards, we find traces of human beings whose condition can only be compared to that of the most savage races of our day; and the favourite theory of some able men, as, for instance, E. B. Tylor, and Sir John Lubbock, is that this is the normal condition of the earlier races, and that the "utter barbarism" of the first man was itself an advance on the condition of some progenitor!! This theory has been opposed by the late Archbishop Whately and by the Duke of Argyle. The difficulty in the discussion is that the only testimony as to the condition of the first man is given in the Pentateuch, which the advocates of the savage theory ignore as an authority, (in this matter at least). Those who receive the statement in Genesis as a true history, cannot question the fact of man's primitive condition being that of the civilized man of the agricultural and pastoral type of civilization; and the testimony of the history of every race and nation favours this view. All civilization and improvement has been engrafted upon every uncivilized people by colonization or conquest, or by frequent and intimate contact with civilized communities. Historical testimony, we think, implies that the civilized state, that is to say man living under law and government, possessed of the knowledge of the useful arts necessary for human comfort is the original condition of human society, and that barbarism is simply an offshoot, the result of the migrations of small companies from the parent race, which under the influence of a series of circumstances unfavourable to the maintenance of the old status, degenerated into barbarism. It is highly probable that the early and remarkable civilization of some of the Asiatic nations, and of Egypt, may be traceable to the preservation of the useful arts of the Antediluvian world by the more immediate descendants of Noah. The human race then started in a fresh career, with the advantages derived from an old civilization. The work of Archbishop Whately on the Origin of Civilization, 1854. E. R. Tylor on

Primitive Culture, 2 Vols. 8vo. 1871. Sir John Lubbock on the Early Condition of Mankind, "Pre-historical Time, 8vo. 1872." The Duke of Argyle on "Primeval Man" 12mo. 1869: contains all that can be said on both sides of this question, which is intimately connected with the speculations of Darwin and others on the Evolution theory of the gradual development of the human race from the Primal Mollusc, as opposed to the hitherto accepted view of the immediate creation of the first human beings by Almighty power. (3.) *The unity of the human family*, which is all but universally considered to be the teaching of the Pentateuch, is, we think, corroborated by the fact that all its Ethnological relations, and its languages, are traceable, so far as our information extends, to one common centre. Some exceptions to this Unity are contended for on Scriptural as well as on scientific grounds, by some whose reverence for the Biblical word cannot be doubted, to whom we have already referred. The greatest difficulty, or rather the most striking to the eye, in the way of the acceptance of this Unity is in the case of the Negro races, to which some add the Mongolian, and the Red men of America. If, however, Hybrid races fade away, scientific evidence would be on the side of the Unity of the Species, as the progeny of the union of varieties of the human race follow the general law of increase. The Darwinian theory of Evolution meets this difficulty, but creates others of far greater moment. We have but a choice of difficulties in this case. It is more easy to believe in a special intervention of Divine wisdom to fit particular races for peculiar positions on the earth's surface, than to deny the Unity of the race. The writings of Pritchard, Gliddon, and the publications of the Anthropological Society give much information on this subject, but little satisfaction as to results. (4.) *The Mosaic Cosmogony* so called, found in the first Chapter of Genesis, has been one of the favourite battle fields on which the one sided advocates of Science and Revelation have been engaged in mutual conflict since the beginning of the present century. A prior controversy arising out of the discoveries of our Astronomers, had been settled already through the imperceptible but sure influence of common sense, by which the language of Scripture on these matters was assimilated to that of our every day phraseology respecting natural phenomena. Half a century

ago the well known Dr. Thomas Chalmers in his eloquent Astronomical discourses had made that science subservient to the cultivation of the loftiest exercises of religious emotion. Three questions in particular agitate the scientific circles in our day, and sometimes disturb the theologian, viz., the mode of creation, the time when, and the process by which our planet has been prepared for the habitation of man. The two first points are certainly too high for us, altogether beyond the reach of our faculties to discover, or fully to comprehend. If matter be not eternal, as the Atheists think, it must have originated in a creative act, of the nature of which, as to the mode or process, we can form no conception, beyond the result as conveyed in the words of the Psalmist, *He spake and it was done, He commanded and it stood fast.* (Psalm xxxiii. 9.) It is probable that all the Divine creative acts were carried on by the operation of the laws given by their Creator, and therefore called natural laws—with one exception, the giving of life! There is nothing in the Bible decisive as to whether the peopling of the earth with innumerable forms of vegetable and animal life, took place by a series of creative acts, or by a monad, or by a Darwinian mollusc, or protoplasm created and endowed with a capability of developing in the course of ages into genera and species, of which some by a process of natural selection would survive. The theory of Evolution, be it true or false, is perfectly reconcileable with the Biblical record of Creation. (See R. Payne Smith's Bampton Lecture, 8vo. 1869.) The time when is beyond our research. Already the Astronomer and the Geologist, and Darwinian are at variance, their differences amounting to hundreds of millions of years!! The Geologists claim unlimited ages for the slow operation of the processes by which the various strata have been formed. Four hundred millions of years, at least of which three hundred millions are required to meet the necessities of the Darwinian scheme of Evolution. Sir Will Thompson in his addresses before the Geological Society of Glasgow in 1868 and 1869 discussed these claims, and proved to the satisfaction of the scientific world, that the enormous demands on time made by the uniformitarian Geologists, are irreconcilable with an intelligent consideration of physical law; he cannot allow one hundred million of years and

thinks that the present Solar System of which our earth forms a part, is not likely to last above twenty or even ten million of years, of which none of us or our immediate successors need to be concerned. We are quoting from an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, April 1878, entitled "Scepticism in Geology," to which we refer the readers as clear and understandable by the average non-scientific mind. What we have to say on the Geological question in relation to the first Chapter of Genesis, we take from this article, which gives us not the opinions of a Theologian, but of a man of science; and we quote the extract verbatim as an instance of the mutual better understanding between science and theology, which is evidently preparing the way for a full reconciliation. We do not mean to assert that the scheme of the Reviewer is the explanation, and reconciliation of the apparent difficulties, which will or should satisfy all enquiring minds. On these points we are not competent to give an opinion. The attempt of the writer in the review is one proof among many that there are scientific men who can regard the first Chapter of Genesis as in agreement with the facts made known by modern scientific discovery, and that is sufficient for our purpose.

"It is not, however, foreign to the considerations which led us to direct the attention of our readers to the arguments of the author of 'Scepticism in Geology,' to point out the remarkable coincidence—hitherto, we apprehend, by no means duly described—between the succession of conditions through which our planet has passed since it was tenanted by living beings, and those ancient and venerable Hebrew records which, at a time when geology was undreamed of, mapped out the sequence of the days of creation. The geological record, as usually studied, ascends like a pedigree. We commence with the organic forms of to-day, and go back to those of yesterday, and then to those of the remoter past. For our present object we must reverse this order, and, giving only the headings of the successive chapters, begin at the beginning.

"The first chapter of the self-recorded history of the planet Earth comprises a long period to which the name, now known to be by no means accurate, of the Azoic period has been given. The solid surface of the earth then presented a crystalline nucleus.

From the primary and unstratified materials of the granite, syenite, porphyry, greenstone, and trappean rocks—substances closely akin to the lava of to-day—the successive layers of gneiss, mica schist, slates, sands, and conglomerates were formed by the conflicting forces of nature. If we use the language of D'Orbigny and the French geologists, it must be remembered that the term 'upheaval' may be relative, and may denote such action as is now going on, or at all events has comparatively recently taken place, in the valley of the Jordan, as well as that of which Monte Nuovo gives us an example, within late historic times, on the shores of the Bay of Naples. At the time of which we speak, then, the mountain range of La Vendée was upheaved. Ten thousand feet of thickness attained by the Cambrian beds attest the immense duration of this first, comparatively lifeless, period. The astronomical elements of form and movement seem to have been almost the only features that were common to the earth of this first day and that of our own time. Volcanic and thermic, rather than organic, agency, came into energetic play when the light was first divided from the darkness."

"A vast oceanic period succeeds. An aerial atmosphere and an aqueous robe surrounded the no longer lifeless earth. The great groups of the placoid and ganoid fishes ranged the seas which deposited the Silurian and Devonian rocks. Together with animal forms of aquatic respiration and primary simplicity, existed large and heavily armed fishes, creatures of which the reptile affinities were so apparent to Linnæus that he classed the few remaining species as *Amphibia nantia*, animals which afforded in their structure the promise of future forms of a higher and more varied life. Such as they were, they were the fit lords of the earth, or rather of the ocean, of their day. Plinlimmon and Snowdon rocks; sands, limes, and conglomerates; siliceous, quartzose, and slaty strata; sands, marls, and tilestones, forming the old Red Sandstone of the Devonian series, mark the dividing of the waters from the waters of the terrestrial and the aerial oceans."

"The third period, divided from the preceding by the upheaval of the Ballons, witnessed the deposit of the mountain limestone, of the millstone grit, and of the coal measures. The latter were

the scene of a rich and fertile vegetation. The labour of the miner has brought to light ample evidence that the dry land had appeared and brought forth grass, and herb, and tree. Animal life, of air-breathing structure, was not wanting amid the giant forests. Insects flitted beneath their shade. A terrestrial *fauna* as well as a terrestrial *flora*—if the term may include cryptogamic vegetation—testifies to the activity of terrestrial life during the great carboniferous period of the earth's history."

"A new series of organic forms is introduced in the fourth great geological day, separated from the preceding period by the upheaval of the North of England range of mountains. Climates and seasons, and tides, and winds, to some extent resembling those of our own time, have left marks of their course during this long herpetiferous period. The permian and triassic rocks, the lias, and the oolite, are all characterised by the predominance of reptile forms. Gigantic saurians swam, and waded, and crawled, and walked, and even flew. Forms which now defy the anatomist to rank in existing classes—feathered reptiles, birds with tails like squirrels—marked this stage of protochthonic existence. Insect life was busy. Probably at no geologic epoch were the ideas of change, of progress, of development, and of an immense, and not very dimly indicated, future, so distinctly wrought out in the *fauna* of our planet. Reptile life, the animal life which of all kinds is most directly dependent on the sun, active in his rays, and torpid in his absence, reigned over earth on the fourth day."

"The upheaval of the Côte d'Or ushers in the fifth great day. The most striking characteristic of the epoch has not hitherto been pointed out. It was a second oceanic period. It comprised the time of the deposit of the chalk, of the Purbeck and Hastings beds, of the Weald clay, the gault, and the green sand. During this epoch the waters brought forth abundantly. The characteristic inhabitants of the modern seas and rivers, the cycloid and ctenoid fish—the bony fishes, quite distinct in their anatomy from their cartilaginous fishes, such as the sharks and rays, which were the children of an older ocean—now first appeared. Remains of birds occur in the chalk, although they are, as is natural in marine deposits, rare. Great fish moved in



the waters, and fowl flew above the earth in the open firmament of heaven."

"The Pyrenees form the mountain barrier, the upheaval of which marks the limit between the fifth and the sixth day. We have now reached the Kainozoic strata. Mammalia appear on the scene. Cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind, herald the advent of man."

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In the Fifth lecture, our subject will be the Higher Criticism and the Historical books of the Old Testament from Joshua to Nehemiah, with the earlier prophets.

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## LECTURE V.

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### THE HIGHER CRITICISM, AND THE REMAINING HISTORICAL AND PROPHETICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. The natural supplement to the Pentateuch is the Book of Joshua, which records the occupation and partial conquest of Canaan, and the settlement of the Israelites in that land, by which the promised grant made to their great ancestor Abraham by Jehovah was fulfilled. (Genesis xii. 7, xiii. 15-17, xv. 18-21.) Then follow the Books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel 1 & 2, Kings 1 & 2, Chron. 1 & 2, which give the history of the Israelites as a nation in their own land up to the Captivity; the remaining historical Books Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah, belong to the period of the exile, the return of the remnant of the people from Babylon, and their re-settlement in and around Jerusalem. We have then in these remaining historical books which follow the Pentateuch, the brief chronicle of the events of more than a thousand years. The names of the authors of the several books are not given, and the date of the authorship can only be inferred from internal evidence, and the testimony of the Jewish Church. Joshua, the Judges, Ruth and Samuel, were undoubtedly written not later than the period immediately following the Division of the Kingdom; the remaining books after the Captivity. All the books from Joshua to the end of the Chronicles are more or less compilations from contemporary documents, in which the original words of the writer are given, retaining the references and allusions to times and events as they were expressed in the documents: This is one cause of the apparent anachronisms, discrepancies, and dislocations in our present text, which have exercised the patience and learning of our commentators. With the exception of the Books of Chronicles, all these historical books appear to have undergone a special revision, in which additional glosses and comments have been introduced by some authorized person, probably Ezra. The object

of these books is to give the history of God's relations specially to Israel, and through Israel to the world at large—the history is to shew the fulfilment of God's promises to Abraham. Hence the Theocratic spirit of the narrative which confines itself to the progressive unfolding of the Divine plan. In the controversy with the literary scepticism of the Higher Criticism, these works occupy a position of secondary importance. Here we have the mere skirmishing work of the critics, the real decisive battle fields being the Pentateuch, Isaiah and Daniel. The sceptical objections are relatively of less importance, and may be dealt with briefly, especially as they are of the same character as those we have already referred to in the lecture on the Pentateuch. In fact the admissions of the most able and candid of the literary critics, leave little room for controversy; they do not deny the antiquity and contemporaneous character of the documents upon which the historical narratives are founded, and the question of the time when, or the person by whom the compilations were made, or that of the final editor is of small importance. So far as we can rely upon the only evidence, that given by the Jewish Church, these books have come down to us substantially as they existed in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. But while the general results of criticism may be satisfactory, we cannot but regret the unprofitable speculations of many of the critical school as to the origin and authorship of this and that chapter and verse, or even portion of a verse, on grounds purely subjective and in opposition to other evidence. Their irreverence is painful, and their dogmatism intolerable, in the infallibility assumed, for opinions which contradict other opinions claiming to be equally infallible, and in reference to points on which no two of these critics agree.

2. The Book of Joshua, though separate and distinct from the Pentateuch, connects it with the succeeding historical books. The first twelve chapters narrate the exploits of the conquerors. Then follows a series of chapters which form the "Domesday Book" of Israel, specifying the partition of the land among the tribes; the last two chapters give an account of the death of Joshua. Opinions as to the authorship of the book differ (1) The Jewish Talmud, Starke, König, Baumgarten, Havernick, and

Gerlach, think that Joshua wrote all except chapters 29, 30, and 32, which were written by Eleazer, and chapters 24 and 31 which were written by Phineas, (2) Keil thinks that the Elders after Joshua were the writers, (3) Masius, Spinoza, Le Clerc, Hasse, Maurer, De Wette, think it was written at the time of the exile, (4) All the speculations connected with the Documentary, Fragmentary, and Supplementary Hypotheses, and also with the Elohist and Jehovist theory are revived by Ewald, Bleek, Knobel, Noldeke, and others, and applied to the solution of this question, with no satisfactory results. We incline to the opinion given in No. (1) and (2). The Book of Judges is mainly occupied with the history of the Judges. These extraordinary Magistrates or Dictators, were called *Shophetim* in Hebrew, and were similar in name to the Phœnician and Carthaginian *Suffetes*: by these the Israelites were roused to resist the tyranny of foreign oppressors. In this respect as patriots, and not in their religious character, they are held up to our admiration in the Old and New Testament. The book is unmethodical in the narrative, and abounds in dislocations which render its chronology very difficult to understand. There is one paragraph, chap. xviii. 30, referring to "the captivity of the Land," which if it related to the Assyrian Captivity, would settle the period of authorship: but from the context, there is reason to suspect that the original words were the "captivity of the Ark," followed by the destruction of Shiloh by the Philistines in the days of Eli, a great calamity related 1 Samuel iv., and referred to Psalm lxxviii., verses 60, 61. The similarity of the Hebrew characters in the two words Ark and Land account for this error of the transcribers. It is probable that Samuel was the compiler. It must have been written before the capture of Jerusalem by David: (Compare Judges i. 21, with 2 Samuel v. 6.) By critics of the extreme school it is carried down to the time of Ahaz, and supposed to have been written *before* Joshua! The Book of Ruth may be safely assigned to the time of David. It is specially valuable as presenting to us one of the many incidental corrections of the national bigotry of the Jewish people, in the purposed publicity given to the fact, that the Moabitess Ruth was an ancestress of David the King. The books of Samuel are supposed by Eichhorn, Jahn, Herbst,

Vaihinger, and Palfrey, to have been written by the compiler of the books of Kings, after the captivity. Stählein assigns them to the time of Hezekiah, Davidson to the reign of Asa, while Thenius, Welte, Havernick and Keil, think with more probability that their date is that of the generation after the division of the kingdom. The books of Kings were undoubtedly written after the death of Jehoiachin during the exile, not improbably by Jeremiah, though some think that the closing chapter alone is of his composition. They are in pure Hebrew, free from Chaldaisms. The true chronology, computed by the dates of the reigns of the Kings cannot be ascertained, owing to the errors of transcribers, and the unauthorized corrections of chronological systematizers. In the Septuagint version the text used must have varied very much, though in matters of little importance, from the present Masoretic text. The various real or supposed difficulties arising out of these imperfect texts have been fairly considered by Keil and others. These books give us much valuable information respecting the Israelites, and the neighbouring nations. But (to quote Bishop Lord C. Harvey) "it is for their deep religious teaching, and for the insight which they give us into God's Providential and Moral Government of the World, that they are above all valuable." (Smith's Dictionary, Vol. 2, p. 38). The Chronicles Books 1 and 2, were certainly written after the return from the Exile, by Ezra or Nehemiah, or by some one of their contemporaries. The genealogies 1 Chron. iii. 23, 24, if belonging to a later period (which is doubtful see Speaker's Commentary, Vol. iii. p. 186-7) may have been added by the same "redactor" as added Nehemiah xii. 10-11, 22-23. There were no doubt family genealogies and records, from which the main contents of the first eight Chapters of 1 Chronicles were taken by the compiler, as well as some interesting facts recorded 1 Chron. iv. 39-43, v. 18-22. Ewald thinks these books to have been written in the time of Alexander the Great, on the ground on the additional genealogies, 1 Chron. iii. 23-4, (which were probably added by a later hand.) The prophet Daniel is with some probability supposed to have written 2 Chron. xxxvi. from verse the 8th, and also the first chapter of Ezra which fills up the void between Daniel ix. and x. The critics, Jarchi, Carpzov,

Keil, and Bishop Lord C. Harvey decide for the earlier date. The opposition and abuse which these books have received from certain critics obviously originate in foregone conclusions, prompted by the dogmatic views of the objectors. De Wette charges the author with ignorance, partizanship on the side of the Levitical system, hatred of Israel as opposed to Judah, as well as with inexactness and exaggeration. Gramberg calls the history a systematic falsehood! On the other hand it has been clearly proved by Dahler, Keil, Herbst, Movers, Welte, Bertheau, Havernick, and others, that these attacks and aspersions are founded on no historical evidence, but proceed solely from a desire to set aside a witness whose testimony is fatal to their theory of the late origin of the Books of Moses. That there are special reasons on the part of these critics, which account for their peculiar animosity to the Books of Chronicles, will appear the more clearly, if we refer to the recent phases of Biblical controversy. At present there are two leading theories of the Higher Criticism. (1) The original and older, which ascribed the Levitical legislation to the period of the early monarchy, and the authorship of the book of Deuteronomy to the age of Manasseh or Josiah. (2) The latest and newest speculation, and for the time the most popular among the advanced critics, is that of Graf, advocated in his *Essay on the Historical Book of the Old Testament*, 1866, and adopted by Kuenen, the Dutch critic. In this theory, the Levitical legislation is postponed to the close of the exile in Babylon. Professor Robertson Smith, of the Free Church, has yielded to the fascination of this hypothesis, and with great ingenuity reconciles its acceptance with the strictest orthodoxy of Doctrinal belief; his view is that the details of the original Laws given by Moses, were afterwards modified by a series of divinely commissioned prophets, and thus adapted to the varying religious wants of the age. In plain English, the "common law" given by Moses was from time to time supplemented by "a statute law" given by inspired prophets, and these statutes in time became to be considered as part of the original law of Moses, and appended to the Mosaic document. Of this action on the part of the prophets we have no evidence whatever. How this could be effected, without the consent of the priests, who were generally

unfriendly to the prophetic order, is not explained. The book of Deuteronomy in his opinion, is "beyond doubt a prophetic legislative programme, and if the author put his work in the mouth of Moses instead of giving it, with Ezekiel, a directly prophetic form, he did so not in pious fraud, but simply because his object was not to give a new law, but to expound and develop Mosaic principles in relation to new needs." (See article Bible, Ency. Brit. 9th Edition, Vol. III.) Nothing can exceed the improbability of this theory. It has naturally provoked the sarcasms of an able writer (Tollemache) on what he calls the theory of "inspired personation," by which the author of Deuteronomy *who was not Moses* (according to the learned critic) was inspired to say that *he was Moses!* A gradual unfolding of the spiritual element latent in the old fixed and unalterable legislation, we can understand, for we have it in the prophetic writings; but an evolution carried on by divinely inspired teachers, which narrows rather than expands, and which culminates in the establishment of a rigid system of Law, and the most complex of all rituals by the prophets and priests under Ezra is inconceivable. Could any influences except the firm belief of the Divine origin and Mosaic antiquity of these Laws and ritual observances, and that as such they had been known to their ancestors, have enabled Ezra and Nehemiah to establish them, in all their exclusiveness, upon the Jewish people, on their return from the captivity? We may now see why the Higher Criticism has so repudiated the authority of the book of Chronicles, for if the account in the Chronicles of the arrangements by King David, of the courses of the Priests, and of the Levites, and other matters pertaining to public worship, and of their being again restored by Hezekiah, be genuine, it follows of course that the Levitical institutions did not originate after the Captivity. (See Keil, Vol. I. 81, Curtiss' Levitical priests. (12mo. 1877.) The present text is admitted by all critics to be very incorrect, portions of it as if copied from Manuscripts to some extent illegible, and the dates and numbers hopelessly corrupt, it may be, owing to the exaggerations of copyists; but these defects of the text do not affect the historical verity of the books. It is a great mistake to regard the books of Chronicles

as simply supplementary to the older Historical books. "The author writes with an immediate practical object, that of meeting the peculiar difficulties of his own day, his object is to re-create the national life of a people broken by the captivity, to identify it with the religion of their fathers, and to shew by a reference to past history that in all cases the faithfulness of the nation to its faith was followed by prosperity, and its sins in this respect connected with misfortune. The Books of Chronicles are a history teaching by example the most pertinent lessons of the utmost importance to the future of the Jewish people." (Speaker's Commentary, Vol. III. 156-7.) Of the contemporaneous character and veracity of the authorities used by the writers of the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, we have additional proof in the instances referred to in "Blunt's undesigned coincidences of the Old Testament," and in "Dr. Plumptre's Biblical Studies." In the latter work, the motives which influenced the leading actors in Absalom's rebellion, are detected and exhibited with surprising clearness, solely from a comparison of incidental statements in the historical books, which by general readers pass unnoticed.

3. The historical books from Joshua to Chronicles inclusive, whatever may be the opinion of critics as to the period of their final editorship, represent to us the feelings and opinions and evidence of the contemporary chroniclers from whom the compilers took their facts. We have reference to some of these original authorities, especially in the Books of Kings and Chronicles. Most of the earlier of these authorities were accessible to the writer of the Books of Samuel. There are other documents and records which form the basis of the narratives in Joshua and the Judges. Upon these original records we rely as the authorities for the facts contained in the Historical Books, and can now understand the reason why these Books are placed in the Canon of the Old Testament, as containing the testimonies of the ancient Prophets to God's dealings with His people, an unbroken link under the Patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations ending only with Malachi, 400 B.C. There was also a large literature of a miscellaneous character among the Israelites before the captivity. So also in Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and among other less important Eastern people, a fact not known to our ancestors.



The books quoted as authorities in the historical books are the following :—(1) The Book of the Wars of the Lord, (Numbers **xxi.** 14.) (2) Book of Jashur, (Joshua **x.** 12; 2 Samuel **i.** 18.) (3) The Manner of the Kingdom by Samuel, (1 Samuel **x.** 25.) (4) The Acts of David in the Book of Samuel the Seer, Book of Nathan the Prophet, Book of Gad the Seer, three works supposed to be absorbed in the Book of Samuel (1 Chronicles **xxix.** 29.) (5) Acts of Solomon in the Book of Nathan the Prophet, in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the visions of Iddo the Seer, (2 Chronicles **ix.** 29.) (6) Book of the Acts of Solomon, (1 Kings **xi.** 41.) (7) Acts of Rheoboam in the Book of Shemaiah the Prophet and of Iddo the Seer concerning genealogies (2 Chronicles **xi.** 15.) (8) Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, (1 Kings **xv.** 7.) (9) Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, (1 Kings **xiv.** 19.) (10) Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah, (2 Chronicles **xxviii.** 26.) (11) Acts of Jehosaphat in the Book of Jehu the son of Hanani, (2 Chronicles **xx.** 34.) (12) Acts of Uzziah, by Isaiah the Prophet, the son of Amos, (2 Chronicles **xxvi.** 22.) (13) Acts of Hezekiah in the Vision of Isaiah the Prophet, the son of Amos, probably embodied in the Book of Isaiah, (2 Chronicles **xxxiii.** 12.) (14) Acts of Manasseh, and his prayer in the Book of the Kings of Israel, (2 Chronicles **xxxiii.** 18.) (15) Lamentations of Jeremiah over Josiah, (2 Chronicles **xxxv.** 25.) There are also two Books mentioned in Exodus, one a memorial which Moses was to write for Joshua, (Exodus **xvii.** 14), and the other the Book of the Covenant, (Exodus **xxiv.** 7), both of which are supposed to be incorporated in the Pentateuch. The character of these books may be gathered from their titles, with the exception of the Book of Jashur, which appears to have been a collection of national songs, the patriotic poetry of the Israelites. Their religious poetry is found in the Book of Psalms, two-thirds of which Psalms, from one to one hundred and six were written before the captivity: So also Solomon's songs, the Book of Ecclesiasties and that of Job, all of which were certainly written before the captivity. Solomon's songs may be intended as a protest against polygamy, as a corruption of the original law of Marriage. Gibbon, prejudiced against Jewish literature, objects to the Book

of Ecclesiastes as too philosophical for a Jewish writer. The book of Job receives the admiration of the philosophic mind of our day in its discussion of the most abstruse moral problems, which remain and are likely to remain beyond solution in this state of being. On dogmatic grounds mainly, some of the Higher Critics question the genuineness of the speech of Elihu.

4. With respect to the history recorded in these books, its credibility and chronology, our remarks must be brief. We have the account of the conquest of Canaan under Joshua, the disturbed and unsettled condition of the tribes under the Judges, the establishment of a regular kingly government under Saul, David and Solomon, the division of the kingdom, in which Judah and Levi remained faithful to the house of David, while the other ten tribes formed the Kingdom of Israel. The wars under the Judges and early Kings with the Philistines, and the subsequent collisions with Egypt, the Syrians and neighbouring nations, and then the conquest of Samaria and the ending of the Kingdom of Israel in the Assyrian Captivity, and that of the Jewish Kingdom in the Babylonish Captivity naturally follow. All these leading facts are generally known even to the most careless and indifferent readers of the Bible. How Assyria became an empire, and its wars with Egypt respecting the possession of Syria; how Babylon and Media uniting destroyed Nineveh, and by what changes the power of Babylon was replaced by that of the Medes and Persians under Cyrus, may be gathered from the more recent histories of the Ancient East, in L'Enormant, Rawlinson, Smith, and others, which have superseded Rollin, and the venerable, erudite, but uncritical "Universal History," 63 Vols., 8vo., 1747—1766. It is remarkable that in the early wars between Egypt and the Syrian tribes, the Khita (Hittites) and in the succeeding contests between Egypt and Assyria for the mastery of the region West of the Euphrates, the route followed by the Egyptians on the coast line, prevented any interference with the Israelitish tribes, then chiefly confined to the high land of the interior of Palestine. The modern sceptical school has not made the history of the Jewish state and Kingdom its special field of criticism. W. F. Newman in his little work entitled "History of the Hebrew Monarchy," has made a

ruthless attack upon the leading heroes in this portion of the Biblical History. Except for the position of the writer, as Professor of Latin in University College, London, and the well known fact of his singular religious versatility and instability, the work would have passed unnoticed, as it contains nothing new. It would be well for those who come in contact with this and other defamations of the Israelitish people, to read "Letters of certain Jews to Monsieur Voltaire, published 1760 A.D.," said to be written by the Abbe Guenée; they have been translated into English by Lefanu, 2 vols. 8vo. 1777, and have gone through several editions. All the recent Archeological discoveries in Egypt, Assyria and Babylon, agree with the Hebrew records when they come in contact with them. The names of six Kings of Israel, and four of Judah, occur in the cuneiform inscriptions. As might be expected from the incorrectness and confusion of the numbers in the Hebrew text, and also from the difficulties inherent in all attempts at comparative Chronology, there is a trifling difference in the dates of the leading events as found in the Assyrian annals from those in our Bibles; they are confined to the period between the eighth and the sixth century before our Era. A full account of the system of the leading chronologists of Europe in relation to these discrepancies may be found in "the Assyrian Eponym Canon," by George Smith. Within the last few months some additional light has been thrown upon this subject by Dr. S. Birch, from the last collection of tablets brought from Assyria, by G. Smith. The following table displays the differences and agreements of the leading chronologists as to the date of certain epochs.

B. C.				B. C.			
The Exodus.....	1648	Hales,	1491	Ussher	David, King.....	1099	Hales, 1056 Ussher.
Death of Joshua....	1583	"	1426	"	Solomon.....	1059	" 1015 "
Saul, King.....	1139	"	1095	"	The Temple.....	1056	" 1012 "

After the foundation of the Temple there is less diversity of opinion among chronologists.

Separation of the Kingdom	979	Hales,	975	Ussher,	981	G. Smith,	953	Boanquet,	929	Brandes
Assyrian Captivity.....	719	"	721	"	720	"	697	"	722	
Babylonian Captivity.....	586	"	588	"	587	"	—	—	—	
Return from Captivity.....	536	"	536		—		—	—	—	

The first captivity of Judah is calculated from 605 B.C. when Jehoiachim and many others were carried to Babylon, by

Nebuchadnezzar: Jeremiah then foretold the return after seventy years, (chap. xxv. 11.) It must be clearly understood, that all these dates, even those which appear the best ascertained, are not absolutely exact, they are nearly so, as far as our present information goes: we are not likely to come nearer the truth.

5. The Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, complete the Historical Books of the Old Testament, and refer to events after the exile, and the return from Captivity. Ezra and Nehemiah were considered as one work by the Jews, but they have been separated in our Canon, since the fourth Century; both are to a certain extent composed of fragmentary records or memoirs. Ezra consists of two parts, the first (Chap. i. to vi.) is the history of the return from Babylon 538 B.C. up to the year 516 B.C., a period of twenty-three years, during which Zerubbabel was governor, Joshua High Priest, and Zachariah and Haggai prophets. The second part Chap. vii. to the end of the book, begins fifty-seven years later, with the commission given to Ezra by Artaxerxes Longimanus King of Persia, 458 B.C., the narrative portion of which contains the history of the events of only one year to 457 B.C. The text is not in good condition and its style like that of the Chronicles abounds in Chaldaisms with a few Persian words; the incorrections are chiefly in names and numbers, and do not affect the narrative. Chapters iv. 8 to vi. 18, vii. 12 to 26 are written in Chaldee. The Jewish writers with Keil, and most Christian critics regard Ezra as the author of the Book, while Bertheau and De Wette would confine his authorship to the portion from chap. vii. 12 to ix. 15; and Bishop Harvey thinks he only wrote the four last chapters. The general testimony of the Jewish Church is more to be depended upon, than any conjectures of men, however learned, true and good. The book of Nehemiah may be divided into four distinct parts. The first, chap. i. to vii. by Nehemiah himself, then simply called a *pechah*, the origin of the official title of *pasha* now used in Turkey. The second, chap. viii. to x, written probably by Ezra, or some other eye witness. In these Nehemiah is called *Tirshatha* (Governor or Cup-bearer). The third, chap. xi. to xii. 10-11, contains six lists of great value archeologically and genealogically. The fourth, chap. xii. 17, to the end of Chap. xiii. probably by Nehemiah. No one doubts

that the lists first and second in division the third, are of Nehemiah's age, 430 B.C.; these from three to six are of a later date, they may have been added by Judua about 330 B.C., to whose age verses 11-22-23 of chap. xii. manifestly belong. We may remark that the narrative of Josephus in reference to the time of Nehemiah, is very confusing and incorrect. The book of Esther has been received as genuine by the Jews, and is the authority to which they refer for the institution of the feast of Purism. It may have been written so early as the days of Ezra; the critics think in the reign of Artaxerxes 425 B.C. or of Xerxes 473-464 B.C., while others place it in the times of the Macedonian dynasties in Syria and Egypt. These books give us a favourable impression of the general leniency and justice of the Persian government over its dependencies.

6. We may here briefly glance at the condition of the Israelites in the period of one thousand years which elapsed between their possession of Canaan, and the Captivity of Israel in Assyria, and then of Judah in Babylon. In the original constitution, in ordinary and quiet periods, the Tribal authorities were in their respective Tribes supreme. The Tribes were not of equal rank, as Gad, Naphtali, Dan and Assur (descended from Jacob's sons by mothers of inferior rank,) were not regarded as occupying the same position as the tribes descended from the legitimate sons. The tribes descended from the two younger sons of Leah were not in the same position as the sons of Joseph, and of these, Ephraim was regarded as superior to Manasseh. The position and importance of the Princes of the Tribes, and the heads of houses greatly declined under the monarchy. Of the laws and customs which regulated the Tribal organizations we know little, but probably they were similar to those now found among the more primitive tribes of Central Asia and Africa, which our historians have not yet begun to investigate; in consequence of our ignorance of these complex usages the genealogical tables of the Eastern nations especially are misunderstood and made the foundation of theories which are most opposite to well authenticated facts. All the Mosaic institutions regarding property and the social condition of the people aimed at the securing a portion of land, a homestead at least to the head of every family. No

agrarian law of equal division, or limiting the extent of land to be possessed by any individual was attempted. The heads of the tribes, and of the leading "houses" of the tribe, had grants proportioned to their position, while sufficient extent of land was secured to each tribe in order to afford allotments to all the families of the tribe, varying from sixteen to twenty-five acres each, according to the calculations of Biblical Antiquarians. It must be remembered that the original boundaries of the land of Canaan were greatly enlarged by the vast extent of pasturage occupied by the tribes east of Jordan. The Mosaic legislation aimed at making and keeping the people of Israel an agricultural and pastoral community. The basis of the constitution rested upon two provisions (1) the inalienability of the family estate, except for a period which, whenever it began, expired at the year of Jubilee every fiftieth year, when the land reverted to the original proprietor. Debts were legally blotted out every seventh year. (2) The forbidding of the exaction of interest by the capitalist from his brother Jew, by which provision the great evil of the accumulation of debt by small landed proprietors, the cause of so much distress in the petty states of Greece, and even in Rome in the ancient world, and now painfully experienced in our Indian possessions was to a large extent prevented. Property in towns was not placed in the same position as that in the country, a house sold, if not redeemed within the year was alienated for ever from the seller. The statesmen of our age might profit by hints from the Pentateuch in reference to some regulations quite as applicable and desirable in modern as in ancient society. We firmly believe in the great principles of Political Economy, but we think that the application of these principles should be in connection with the higher claims of justice, and humanity taught by Christianity; the duties of thrift, and prudence, the feeling which prompts man to accumulate are not to be despised or discouraged, but they may be practised under conditions of ruinous competition, unfavourable to the higher culture and the permanent and true prosperity of the community. Unless we can believe contrary to God's revelation, that to foster the growth of universal and reckless selfishness is the natural mode of producing universal benevolence and well

being, there must be in this nineteenth century something essentially wrong in the social and economical condition of most (so called) civilized countries. Although as the American satirist remarks in "the Biglow papers," "They did not know everything in old Judee," yet there are some things of no small importance which we might learn from them. That the wise and merciful provisions of the Mosaic code in reference to the restoration of lands in the Jubilee year, and the remission of debts in the Sabbatical year, were too often evaded, and even openly violated, is evident from the bold denunciations of the Prophets, the inspired Ministers of the Theocracy. This could not have occurred had the Israelitish people been faithful to their covenant with the God of their father Abraham, but their history is a narrative of continuous resistance to God's purposes; their frequent relapses into Idolatry is a remarkable fact difficult to account for, except on the supposition of the imperceptible influence of the "mixed multitude" which came out of Egypt, together with the remnants of the subjugated Canaanites living among them which tended to lower the tone of morals, and of the feeling of religious obligation to Jehovah, and so prepared the way for the more easy compliance with the grossest form of idolatry. These lapses were followed by the calamities foretold by their great legislator, and thus the Divine plan for the happiness of the people of Israel was frustrated by their own disobedience. Of this tendency to apostatise, the people were fully cured by the Babylonish Captivity. We hear of no Idolatry after this. On the contrary we have evidence that the exhibition of the higher and spiritual character of the Abrahamic faith by the Jewish exiles, had resulted in Babylon in the conversion of many heathens of whom Nehemiah speaks as *all they that had separated themselves from the people of the lands unto the law of God*, (Nehemiah x. 28).

7. From the division of the kingdom to the Captivity, the Prophetic order occupied a most important position in the Jewish state, they were the main preservers of the Israelitish religion, for though provision had been made by the institution of the Aaronic priesthood and the Levitical ministry for the carrying out the sacrificial system, and the service of the Temple, the result seems to have been limited to the maintenance of the ritual, with the

spiritual meaning of which the greater part of them had but small sympathy. No class of religious teachers appear to have been so generally unfaithful as those of the Israelitish people. At certain periods of peculiar trial, they are described to us in terms which place them almost as low as the so-called priests of some of the Eastern Christian Churches, or of the priests of Abyssinia. There were of course glorious exceptions to this general deterioration. In Samuel's days God raised up others to take the place of the unfaithful officials. "God has not given to any body of men whatsoever, a chartered right to lock up heaven, and let his people perish for lack of knowledge. If those who are regularly called, and who are the priests according to the true succession, neglect their duties, their place will very soon be supplied by those who have only the inward call. The prophets essentially were men whose sole claim to teach was this inward call." (R. Payne Smith, Bampton Lectures, p. 120.) By the institution of "Schools of the Prophets," sacred colleges for the training of young men whose hearts were influenced by a desire to maintain the old truths of the Mosaic Law. These men became the poets, historians, the expounders of the Law, displaying especially the spiritual bearing of its teachings, and enforcing the necessity of a vital, deep, personal religion. (Micah vi. 8, Hosea vi. 6, Amos v. 21, Isaiah i. 10-20.) The Prophets were also a conservative political power in the State, and not without reason in a Theocratic Government which existed solely for a religious purpose; and strong in their religious position, they were able to withstand the most powerful of the idolatrous rulers of Judah and Israel. The histories of Elijah and Elisha are proofs of their singular influence. The writings of sixteen of these Prophets, covering a period of nearly five centuries, from Jonah to Malachi have been preserved by the Jewish Church, which has thus handed down for the instruction of all ages the evidences of its own unfaithfulness, corruption, and punishment. A singular fact opposed to the general self laudation of a purely national literature, and no small evidence of the faithfulness of the writers. Incidentally, the prophetic writings point to the spasmodic character of the piety of the Kingdom of Judah, and the fortunes of the schismatical and heretical corruption of



Mosaicism in the Israelitish Kingdom, the result of the policy of Jeroboam. No greater proof can be given of the hold which the Mosaic Institutions possessed over the people, than the fact that all Jeroboam's system was a close imitation of it. The Priests and Levites had sacrificed their lands and houses in Israel, and had taken refuge in the orthodox territory of Judah—the earliest precursor of the self-sacrificial St. Bartholomew's Day of English Ecclesiastical History. Jeroboam dared not attempt to set aside the worship of Jehovah, but merely to alter the symbols, to substitute the calves at Dan, in the place of the manifestation of the Divine Presence in the Temple at Jerusalem. All the ordinances of the Law were maintained, its feasts and festivals, the sacrificial system, the pecuniary obligations and the priesthood. There was toleration for the votaries of the old faith. The schools of the prophets remained in Israel, and appear to have been confined to that Kingdom, though there may have been such in Judah, which have not been mentioned by the Jewish Chroniclers. The Mosaic Law was taught, and confronted the new system in Samaria, Bethel, and Gilgal, the head quarters of the schism. The existence of a written Law, and known as such by the people, is evident from the allusion in Hosea viii. 12, and from the fact that the language of the prophets abounding in reference to its peculiar teaching, could only have been understood by a people familiar with its language and precepts. There were false prophets claiming to be true prophets of Jehovah, counterfeits very numerous, and always opposed to the genuine Prophets. There was also an attempt to introduce the foul and cruel abominations of Phœnician and Syrian Idolatry into Israel and Judah, which the Prophets of Jehovah most religiously and patriotically resisted. These religious struggles give a peculiar interest to the historical books and to the writings of the Prophets. But it is to the teaching of the Prophets to which we would direct attention. It is distinguished by three things: First, a jealous regard for the purity of the Monotheistic faith, a hatred of every form of Idolatry. Secondly, the prominence given to the spirituality of religious worship and feeling, and to the practical character of its precepts. Thirdly, and the most remarkable, considering the intense Judaism of the Prophets, (which our

philosophers would call fanaticism) the grand Catholic views and doctrines which predominate in all their writings, in the earliest deliverances of Jonah and Joel, as well as in those of Micah and Isaiah. It is in fact a carrying out the full meaning of the first promise in Eden, (Genesis iii. 15) and the subsequent covenant with Abraham, (Genesis xxvi. 4) by which a share in the blessing through the seed of Abraham, was guaranteed to all mankind. "The two oldest written prophecies are those of Jonah and Joel; the object of the former of these books is to set before us the nature of prophecy itself, while Joel strikes the keynote of that spiritual teaching, which has made the prophets the instructors not of one age only, but of all ages and people."—"If there be any thing plainly taught in the prophets, it is that Judaism was to give place to a universal religion, and the first thought that strikes us in the book of Jonah is that this earliest book of written prophecy is a narrative of a mission to a Gentile city, and that city the sworn foe and enemy of Israel."—"Surely such a prophecy was a fit preface and introduction to the whole prophetic canon, for it gives the outline and measure of that which succeeding prophets did but fill up and complete." The book of Jonah teaches us the conditionality of the Divine threats and promises. In the moral Government of God, prophecy announces no irrevocable destiny, no blind impending, irresistible fate, but is a warning given by an omniscient, but merciful ruler to beings capable of repentance, and of thereby reversing the decrees of justice. It is even startling to find Jeremiah declaring in Jehovah's name to Zedekiah but a short time before Jerusalem was captured, that if he would even then submit, God would spare him and the city, (xxxviii. 17.) Joel's teaching is equally spiritual and catholic; the immediate occasion is the two-fold calamity of a long continued drought, followed by a plague of locusts. His prophecy enforces the lesson which we are slow to learn, that the so-called laws of nature mean only the presence of God's Almighty Will, the immanence of Deity, but that God from the first so willed them, that they should minister to man's probation, and to the individual good of all who love him. In all the dealings of God's providence, there is a moral purpose, the object designed is to move man to repentance, and

wean him from sin, that the door of spiritual life may be opened, sin pardoned, and man restored to the favour of God. Whence had these men, Jonah, Joel, and the succeeding prophets, their advanced and more capacious, and more spiritual views of God's merciful purpose for man. There was nothing in the influences around them to account for this originality. The "light shining in a dark place" was from Heaven, this is the only rational conclusion.

8. It is remarkable that from the time of the early prophets there is observable an increasing consciousness among the more thoughtful and pious Israelites of the spiritual purpose of the existence of their nation, and of the eventual triumph of the religion of Jehovah, the God of their Father Abraham. In the Sixty-seventh Psalm, which has been aptly called, "The Pater-Noster of the Old Testament Church," the missionary feeling preponderates and culminates in the prayer, that "Thy way may be known upon earth, Thy saving health among all nations," (verse 2). We have too much overlooked the fact of the absorption of heathens into the households of the Patriarchs, and afterwards in the time of the regular Israelitish state. The Mosaic Law made provision for such cases. In the genealogical tables we find individuals of this class adopted into Israelitish families, and occupying positions of the highest importance. The Babylonish Captivity not only benefitted the cause of true religion, by the dispersion of the Jews over the East, and eventually in Southern Europe; but also by the light from the Jewish sacred books, perceptible in its influences upon the subsequent literature of the Greeks. This has been fully shown by Bishop Gray in his "Connexion between the Sacred Writings and the literature of Jewish and Heathen Authors." (2 Vols. 8vo. 1819.)

9. To the mass of readers it is a great misfortune that the prophetic books are not arranged in chronological order, as in their present arrangement they cannot well be read intelligently. That order is not difficult to arrange with sufficient exactness for our purpose (1) Jonah, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, and Hosea, more or less contemporary from 856 to 725 B.C. (2) Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, from 758 to 700 B.C. (3) Habakuk, Zephaniah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Daniel, from 606 to 534 B.C. (4) Haggai, Zachariah,

and Malachi, from 520 to 420 B.C. Their writings were made public and circulated at the time, as we may gather from the peculiarities of style and expression, and one common circle of thoughts observable in all the prophetic writings. Amos quotes Joel, Isaiah quotes Micah, Zechariah quotes Habbakuk, Nahum refers to Jonah, Jeremiah takes from Obadiah, Daniel understood *by books* the approaching end of the seventy years captivity foretold by Jeremiah, (Daniel ix. 2) which would have been all but impossible had these prophecies not been in circulation among the more educated and literary classes of Israel and Israelitish society. Into the distinctive peculiarities of each of these prophets we cannot enter: the limits of a lecture forbidding such an attempt. We must refer to the standard commentaries, of which there are several of great merit devoted to each prophet, and to the writings of Bishop Newton, Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, Bishop Sherlock, John Smith, Davison, J. Pye Smith, Josiah Conder, Fairbairn, W. L. Alexander, Strachey, Sam Lee, Tregelles, Urwick, Auberlin, and others, not forgetting R. Payne Smith, (now Dean of Canterbury) to whose valuable Bampton Lectures for 1869, this lecture is greatly indebted. The important work of Dr. Pusey on the "Minor Prophets," 4to. is just completed. Ewald on the Prophets, and Rowland Williams represent the views of the Higher Criticism. It is not necessary to give the names of the prophetic interpreters of the Millennial school, we may read some of them as Elliott, Ben Ezra, and Edward Irving, with profit, without accepting all their conclusions.

In the 6th Lecture we hope to direct attention to the Books of the Prophets, Isaiah, Daniel, and Zachariah, in connection with the hypotheses of the Higher Criticism.



## LECTURE VI.

### THE HIGHER CRITICISM AND THE PROPHETICAL BOOKS OF ISAIAH, DANIEL AND ZECHARIAH.

1. The great stumbling block to the sceptical School of the Higher Criticism is, that Prophecy in the sense of foreknowledge is assumed as a fact, and as a supernatural gift in the Sacred Scriptures. The genuineness of Daniel's Prophecies was first denied by the Heathen Philosopher Porphyry, in the third Century: the notion of the separation of the last twenty-seven Chapters of Isaiah, and of the last six Chapters of Zechariah from the books ascribed to these prophets, belongs to the critics of the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries. Some of the English Divines from Joseph Mede (1653) to Newcome (1785) attributed the chapters ix. to xiv. of Zechariah, partly to Jeremiah; while Döderlein (1787) ascribed all the six chapters to that prophet. Koppe, in his notes on Lowth's version of Isaiah, (German translation) first questioned the claims of chapters xl. to lxvi. to be considered as a portion of the original prophecy of Isaiah. The details of these and other Criticisms will follow these preparatory remarks.

2. But the objections of the Sceptical School are not confined to the genuineness of a portion of particular books as Isaiah, Zechariah, or Daniel, in which Critics of the most undoubted orthodoxy have occasionally coincided, but with Prophecy itself. The foundation of their "Higher Criticism" is the dogmatic assumption to which Spinoza first gave currency, that Prophecy as commonly understood, is a miracle, and consequently an impossibility, and that all which we call Prophecy in the sacred books is *vaticinium ex eventu*, a prediction of an event already fulfilled. Hitzig expresses the opinions of this school in the assertion

that "we cannot attribute to the Prophets any proper fore-knowledge, but that their fore-knowledge must be confined within the limits of what we call anticipation and inference from fact," (Keil I. p. 123.) If, however, miracle is impossible, there can be no direct Divine communication to man, and the notion of a Religion resting upon Revelation is an absurdity. This point has been fully considered and disposed of by Christian Divines; and even men opposed to Christianity, as Lord Herbert and Lord Bolingbroke, agree with the Divines, and regard the assumption of the impossibility of a Divine communication with man as untenable. To the Christian mind Prophecy is a fact intimately interwoven with the whole course of the Divine economy. The first promise, (Genesis iii. 15) is a Prophecy, so also that to the patriarch Abraham, (Genesis xii. 3) and the last words of Moses in Deuteronomy are a full and detailed Prophecy. All the Prophecies of the sixteen Prophets whose writings are contained in the Old Testament, presuppose the leading prophetic declarations contained in the earlier Scriptures as, for instance, in Leviticus xxvi. 14 to 40; Deuteronomy xxviii. 32, 34, 36, 37, 49 to 57, 62 to 68, which speak of the chastisement and captivity of the Israelites; those also which point to their restoration on repentance, found in Leviticus xxvi. chapter, 40 to 45, and Deuteronomy xxx. 1, 10, to which also King Solomon referred in his prayer, 1 Kings viii. 46—50, ix. 6, 9. The force and peculiar adaptation of the later prophetic writings cannot be understood unless we keep in mind the general reception by their hearers, of these earlier prophecies contained in the Divine revelations given to the Jewish people.

3. Of Isaiah, the son of Amoz, we know nothing beyond what may be gathered from his writings, and from the old tradition of his martyrdom by Manasseh, to which the reference is supposed to be made, Hebrew xi. 37. He prophesied about sixty years in the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, Kings of Judah, from 760 B.C. (a little before the date assigned to the foundation of Rome) to about 698 B.C. Of his position, or, as we usually phrase it, his "life and times," there are admirable summaries in Smith's Biblical Dictionary, Vol. I. p. 375; in the Speakers' Commentary, Vol. V. p. 4 to 7; and in Dean Stanley's

History of the Jewish Church, Vol. II. p. 450—482, in which the downward course of the Israelitish Kingdom is exhibited with a pictorial power which rivets the attention of the reader. We may also refer to the remarkable work of Sir Edward Strachey, entitled "Jewish History and politics in the times of Sargon and Sennacherib, an enquiry into the historical meaning and purpose of the prophecies of Isaiah," (8vo. New Edition, 1874,) a work, which, with some minor defects, "grasps the real meaning of Jewish History, and throws upon its various incidents the light derived from a wide and careful study of politics and statesmanship," (London Quarterly, Vol. 43 p. 475.) But these and other points of great interest belong rather to a History than a Lecture. We shall simply give the requisite information in the words of Dr. Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, from his Commentary, Vol. V. p. 7, &c. "Providentially Isaiah was called to the prophetic office before the destruction of the Kingdom of Israel. He had, therefore, a vast future before him. The Kingdom of Syria was still standing, but that monarchy was soon about to fall. Assyria was arising to the zenith of its glory. Egypt was its rival in the South. Babylon was in the far off future. Observe, therefore, Isaiah's prophetic position: he was at Jerusalem, the religious centre of Israel and Judah. Judah itself was called in the Scriptures 'the midst of the nations,' (Ezekiel v. 5); on the North-East was Assyria, and after it Babylon; on the North were the Kingdoms of Israel and Syria, and the rich commercial city of Tyre on its island rock, the Queen of the Seas; on the East and South-East were Ammon, Moab and Edom, connected by community of origin with Israel, but Israel's bitter foes,—and further to the South-East the desert of Arabia, where his fathers had wandered; and on the South-West was Philistia, Judah's near neighbour and inveterate enemy; on the South was the great Kingdom of Egypt, distinguished by arts and arms, and ever and anon making hostile inroads into Judah, or alluring it to 'court its alliance as a defence against its Northern enemy, Assyria;' and still further South, the tribes of Ethiopia, stately in stature, and renowned and feared for their warlike prowess. Isaiah looked forth on these Empires and Kingdoms from his watch tower in Zion; he contemplated them as a Divine



Astronomer, with his prophetic telescope, from his spiritual observatory; and he was enabled by the Spirit of God to foretell the rising and setting of all these stars and constellations. He looked down also upon what was at his feet, 'the Valley of Visions,' as it is called, Jerusalem, and he foretold her destiny. And far beyond all these he beheld and described the dread transactions of the Day of Doom."

4. A succinct account of the rise and progress of "the Higher Criticism" on the book of the Prophet Isaiah, interspersed with much lively pertinent comment on the Critics, is to be found in the two Introductions preferred to the first and second volumes of the Prophecies of Isaiah, by Professor J. A. Alexander of Princeton, New Jersey, (published 1847), and also in the Biblical Dictionary of Smith and Kitto, (3rd. Ed.) For critical purposes, the Book of Isaiah's Prophecy is best considered under two sections, the first containing the earlier prophecies, Chapter i. to xxxix.; the second, Chapter xl. to the end, including Chapter lvi. We give the Criticism of the Higher School in detail, (useless as it may be to the general reader), in order to do full justice to the vagaries of the subjective School of Criticism, which in this, as on most questions of authorship and date of the Sacred Books, is opposed to the testimony of the Jewish Church and of all antiquity up to the 18th Century. The remarkable variety and contrariety of these learned Criticisms carry with them their own refutation. We must have proof before we leave the old paths, that the new ones will lead us in the right direction. Bright and lively is the Critical imagination, but it gives a dubious light. The position of Isaiah, as the first in the order of the four great Prophets as they stand in the Hebrew Bible, has been disputed. In a tradition preserved in the Talmud, it is said to have been preceded by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and this order is observed in the German and French MSS. The reason assigned is that Jeremiah and Ezekiel being minatory Prophets, Isaiah was placed after them as consolatory and as an antidote. The more probable reason is from the intimate connection of the Book of Kings with Jeremiah, and from the notion that Jeremiah was its author. The Higher Critics think that "many later prophecies had been incorporated with those of Isaiah, and

therefore the first place was not due to him." (Davidson III. 1). In the Masora, which represents the Jewish Criticism of the 6th Century, and in the Spanish MSS., and in the two oldest Hebrew MSS., and in all the ancient versions, the order of the Hebrew Bible (as we have it) and of the modern versions is followed.

5. The dates assigned by the Critics to the first thirty-nine chapters, which comprize the whole of the earlier prophecies of Isaiah, we place under the portions to which they refer.

Chap. I. Is considered as an introduction to the entire book by Le Clerc, Michaelis, Hitzig, Scholtz, Schroeder and Henderson : on the contrary, Vitringa, Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Maurer and Koppe, regard it as simply an introduction to the first chapter. The time of its composition is referred as follows, to the periods of the reigns of the several Kings as below.

1. Uzziah, latter part of his reign, or under the regency of Jotham, by Caspari and the older Critics, Grotius, Cocceius.

2. Jotham, by Calvin, Lowth and Hendewerk—the latter doubts the genuineness of the first verse.

3. Ahaz, by Gesenius, Maurer, Knobel, De Wette, Haver-nick, Hensler, Movers, Davidson.

4. Hezekiah, (after the invasion of Sennacherib) by Eich-horn, Michaelis, Paulus, Ewald, Hitzig, Umbreit, Bleek, Alex-ander, Keil: also by Jarchi and Vitringa.

Chapter II, III, IV, form one prophecy.

1. Jotham, (as regent) by Hengstenberg, Drechsler, Cas-pari, Keil.

2. Jotham, (when King) by Michaelis, De Wette, Knobel, Henderson.

3. Ahaz, by Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Maurer, Movers, Hit-zig, Ewald, Umbreit, Stähelein.

4. Hezekiah, by Kleinert, Roorda.

N.B.—The verses 2, 3, 4 of the second chapter agree almost verbally with Micah iv. 1 to 4, the one prophet quoting the other, but to which the priority is due, cannot be decided. Vogel and Ewald think that both quoted from an old prophet supposed to be Joel.

N.B.—Roorda thinks that chapter i. to v., excepting chapter i. 1, and ii. 1 to 4, belong to Micah : this opinion is combated by Havernick: these prophets were contemporaries and fellow labourers.

Chapter V. is a distinct prophecy, of the same date as the chapters ii, iii, iv, though a little later, not to Jotham's reign as supposed by Vitranga, Michaelis, Rosemüller, but to Ahaz, this is the opinion of Davidson.

Chapter VI. 1. The year in which King Uzziah died, by Keil.

2. After Sennacherib's invasion, by Hitzig, who regards the vision as a fiction.

3. Ahaz or Hezekiah, by Ewald, Credner, Knobel, but based on the history of the Vision : so also Davidson, who does not deny the reality of the Vision.

Chapters VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, belong according to Keil, Havernick, Drechsler and Davidson, to the first year of Ahaz, the last three discourses being about three quarters of a year later than the first.

(1.) Verses 1 to 16 of chapter vii, are doubted by Gesenius as not written by Isaiah, his opinion refuted by Kleinert, Hitzig, Havernick.

(2.) Chapter ix. 7 to x. 4, are supposed by Gesenius and Knobel to date from the captivity of a part of Israel, by Tiglath Pileser, King of Assyria : but this does not appear from chapter ix. 9, 10.

3. Chapter x. 5 to xii. 6, are by Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Maurer, De Wette and Knobel dated after the taking of Samaria by Shalmaneser; by Ewald after Sennacherib's expedition to Egypt; by Havernick between the 6th and 14th year of Hezekiah; these two latter opinions are not supported by x. 24; all the matter from viii. 5 to xii. 6 presuppose one and the same date of composition.

4. Koppe disputes the genuineness of chapter xi. xii., so also Vater and Rosenmüller, their views are replied to by Gesenius and Beckhans. Verses xii. 1 to 6 are disputed by Ewald but defended by Umbreit and Havernick.

Chapter XIII. to XIV. 23, and XXI., which are prophecies against Babylon, are disputed as not forming part of Isaiah's genuine prophecy by the following Critics, Rosenmüller, Justi-

Paulus, Eichhorn and Berthold, Gesenius, De Wette, Maurer, Ewald, Hendewerk, Knobel, Umbreit, Hertzfield, Bleek and Davidson; they are on the other hand vindicated by J. D. Michaelis, Hensler, Uhland, Beckhans, Jahn, Dereser, Havernick, Drechsler.

1. These chapters are attributed by Rosenmuller, &c., to a "great unknown" prophet about the time of the Exile. Yet they are quoted by the later prophets Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Nahum, Ezekiel and Jeremiah, which is a sufficient proof of their earlier date, (Keil Vol. I. 303.) But Davidson thinks that Habakkuk and Nahum are the originals from which Isaiah copied; of this there is no proof.

2. Chapters xiii. and xiv. are ascribed to the earlier part of the reign of Ahaz; but xiv. 28 to 32 against Philistia, to the latter year of Ahaz, by Keil, Vitranga, Drechsler. In these chapters there are evident references to Joel and Amos, (see Keil Vol. I. p. 303.)

3. Chapter xiv. 24 to 27, against Assyria: before Sennacherib's army was destroyed, by Keil; but supposed to be a fragment of a longer prophecy by Davidson.

Chapter XV., XVI., a prophecy against Moab, is by some Critics attributed—1, To an ancient prophet, but repeated by Isaiah with the addition of verses 13, 14 of chapter xvi. This is the view taken by Gesenius, Ewald, Umbreit, Maurer, Knobel.

2. To Jeremiah by Koppe, Augusti, Bertholdt, opposed by Beckhans.

3. To Jonah, the son of Amittai, by Hitzig, opposed by Credner, and others.

4. These opinions, opposed by Hendewerk, Havernick, Bleek, Drechsler, Kleinert, Keil, seem to confirm the old opinion maintained by Vitranga and others, that the germ of this prophecy is in the old prophecy against Moab, in the Pentateuch, (Number xxiv. 17.) The date assigned by Keil is after the carrying away of part of the Israelites by Tiglath Pileser to Assyria, about the time of Shalmaneser's expedition against Samaria.

5. Henderson thinks that the verses 13 and 14 of chapter xvi. were added by an inspired prophet a century after Isaiah; Alexander thinks in the days of Nebuchadnezzar.

6. Hitzig and Credner suppose this prophecy against Moab, to have been repeated by Isaiah in the reign of Hezekiah 717 B.C. Knobel much earlier, 744 or 745 B.C., in the reign of Ahaz or Jotham.

Chapter XVII., XVIII., against Syria and Ephraim are one, not to be separated—so Drechsler in opposition to Havernick.

1. The date according to Keil and Drechsler is about the time of the accession of Hezekiah.

2. Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald, place chapter xvii. 1 to 11 to the earlier part of the reign of Ahaz.

3. Hitzig and Havernick place the whole of chapter xvii. to the early part of the reign of Ahaz, and chapter xviii. to the time of Hezekiah.

Chapter XIX. against Egypt.

1. Verses 18 to 20 are disputed by Koppe, Eichhorn and Gesenius, and defended by Beckhans.

2. Verses 16 to 25 are attributed by Hitzig and Zunz to the Priest Onias, who built the temple at Heliopolis in Egypt. It is defended as genuine by Rosenmüller, Hendewerk, Ewald, Umbreit, Knobel, Caspari, Drechsler, Bleek. The dates assigned are—

(1) To the reign of Manasseh, by Gesenius and Rosenmüller.

(2) To 717 B.C. when So (Tirhakah) began to reign, by Knobel.

(3) To the time of the latest of Isaiah's prophecies.

(4) About the time of Hezekiah's accession, with chapters xvii. and xviii., by Keil.

Chapter XX, a little later than the date of the preceding Chapter. (Keil.)

Chapter XXI, Verses 1 to 10 (see chap. xiii. xiv.)

Verses 11 to 15 attributed to an older prophet by Davidson, and ascribed to the date of the reign of Jotham, 745 B.C. (as only probable) but by Keil to the early part of Hezekiah's reign.

Chapter XXII. written after the fall of Samaria, but before Sennacherib's invasion of Judah, according to Keil.

Chapter XXIII. against Tyre, considered by certain critics as not genuine on account of the events being foretold so long before, especially verses 15 to 18, which are supposed by Eichhorn and Ewald to be a later addition of the Persian period. It is attributed—

(1.) To Jeremiah by Eichhorn, Rosemuller, Movers and Bleek, but Movers afterwards thought it was originally from Isaiah, re-edited by Jeremiah!

(2) To a younger contemporary of Isaiah, by Ewald.

(3) Defended as genuine by Gesenius, De Wette, Knobel, Hendewerk, Drechsler, Keil, Alexander. The style is attacked by Hitzig and Ewald, but defended by Umbreit and Drechsler.

(4) This chapter is probably soon after the fall of Samaria.

Chapters XXIV. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. are considered as not genuine, because their stand-point is the Babylonish Captivity, which could not be foreseen by Isaiah (prophecy being denied so far as future distant events are concerned) by Eichhorn, Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, Vatke, Bleek, Davidson, Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, (Scholia, 1st Ed.) Umbreit, Knobel : Its genuineness is defended by Rosenmüller (Scholia, 2nd Ed.), Arndt, Welte, Drechsler, Delitzsch, Havernick, Kleinhardt, Keil, Henderson, Alexander. Various dates are assigned.

(1) After the fall of Babylon (to which it refers) by Gesenius, Umbreit and Knobel.

(2) After the destruction of Nineveh (to which it refers) according to Hitzig by an Ephraimite and eye-witness.

(3) When Cambyzes was about to invade Egypt, by Ewald.

(4) The Maccabean age, by Vatke.

(5) After the fall of Assyria, by some Jewish prophet in Judea, by Bleek.

(6) The 24th Chapter is by Jeremiah in the opinion Herzfield.

(7) Soon after the fall of Samaria, by Keil and the orthodox Critics generally.

Chapters XXVIII. XXIX. XXX. XXXI. XXXII. XXXIII. almost commonly held as genuine, and believed to be written

within the first fourteen years of Hezekiah—not all at once, but at at various times. Chapter xxviii. within the first three years of Hezekiah: chapter xxxiii. in the fourteenth year, and chapters xxix. xxx. xxxi. xxxii. in the intervening years. Koppe doubts the genuineness of chapter xxx. 1 to 27, and Ewald thinks chapter xxxiii. may have been written by a younger disciple of Isaiah; this has been refuted by his fellow critics.

Chapters XXXIV, XXXV. form one prophecy of the destruction of Babylon, and are of course considered as by a late author, “the great unknown” of chapter xl. to lxvi., by Gesenius and Hitzig, while Ewald thinks they are by another prophet. As in reference to chapters xiii. xiv. and xxi. the reason assigned is founded on the impossibility of a prediction of future events by an inspired prophet! Davidson lays down the maxim “No prophet throws himself absolutely, ideally, and at once into a later period than his own.” (Vol. 3 p. 29) Caspari proves that these chapters were used by Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zephaniah: The date is about the time of Sennacherib’s invasion (Keil).

Chapters XXXVI. XXXVII. XXXVIII. XXXIX. are almost identical with 2 Kings chapter xviii. 13 to chapter xx. 19, and 2 Chronicles chapter xxxii—and relate to the history of Sennacherib’s invasion. It is probable that both the narratives are taken from a third account fuller in its historical statements such as is noticed 2 Chronicles xxxii. 32. Chapters xxxviii. and xxxix. of Isaiah in order of time preceding xxxvi. and xxxvii.

6. The criticisms in detail on *the second portion* of Isaiah’s prophecy refer to the unity of these twenty-seven chapters xl. to lxvi., and also to their authorship, whether or not ascribable to Isaiah.

I. The Unity is denied by Koppe, Martini, Bertholdt, Eichhorn, and Knobel. Ewald thinks that chapter liii. 1 to 12, lvi. 9 to lvii. 11, are from older prophets, and chapter lxiii. 7 to lxvi. from a later prophet—this view is opposed by Meier, Caspari, Delitzsch and Drechsler. The unity is affirmed by Gesenius, Hitzig, De Wette, as well as by Hengstenberg and the advocates of the genuineness of this portion of the prophecy, and is now generally admitted by Critics of every school.

II. The authorship of this second portion of the book of Isaiah is denied as the production of the prophet himself, mainly on dogmatic grounds, to which we have already referred (in paragraph 2.) The objectors suppose that chapters xiii., xiv. to verse 23, xxi. verse 1 to 10, xxiv. to xxvii., with chapters xl. to lxvi., belong to some unknown prophet who lived about a century after Isaiah, in the period of the Exile. We may mention as the principal of these, the names of Koppe, with whom in modern times the notion originated, 1797, Eichhorn, Justi, Bauer, Paulus, Bertholdt, Augusti, Gesenius, De Wette, Hitzig, Knobel, Umbreit, Davidson, Ewald, Bleek. (2.) Bleek thinks that chapters lvi. 9 to lvii. 11, were from an older prophecy, possibly by Isaiah, and inserted by the unknown writer who composed chapter lxiii. to lxvi. or perhaps lviii. to lxvi., after his return to Canaan. (3.) Ewald thinks the writer was a Jew who lived in Pelusium, Egypt, having gone there with Jeremiah! On the other hand a large number of Critics as respectable as their opponents advocate the genuineness of this second portion, as part of the original prophecy of Isaiah, namely, Jahn, Möller, Kleinert, Hensler, Beckhaus, Dereser, Drechsler, Greve, Schleier, Meier, Hengstenberg, Havernick, Keil, J. Pye Smith, Henderson, Alexander, and others. Most of the English Critics are of this opinion, the writers in Smith's Biblical Dictionary and the Speaker's Commentary, and Kitto's Biblical Encyclopedia, Birks, H. Browne, Dr. Payne Smith, Urwick, &c. These concluding chapters were no doubt written in the old age of the prophet; they are supposed by Möller to have been written when Manasseh was in captivity.

7. The linguistical character of these chapters has been considered as a ground sufficient to justify the notion of their later origin by Gesenius, De Wette, Knobel and Davidson. To them Keil and other Critics have replied most satisfactory. The details are not possible in a lecture, as they consist of lists of words supposed to be peculiar, or not to Isaiah. We simply give the conclusions of the Rev. William Urwick, in his "Dissertations upon the authorship of chapters xl. and lxvi. of Isaiah," prefixed to his work entitled "The Servant of Jehovah," a commentary grammatical and critical upon Isaiah lii. 13 to Isaiah liii. 12. (8vo. 1877.) "In examining in detail the testimony of the language, we have



twenty-eight words and expressions represented as peculiar to the later chapters, and indicating according to some, a later and different authorship, different from that of chapters i. to xxxix : of these only two are not found in the earlier portions ; all the rest do occur in both portions, though not always in the same form or conjugation : and there is not sufficient warrant for assigning a signification to any in the later portion, different from the natural and usual meaning in the earlier : the peculiarity assigned to any is simply a new meaning suggested by the critics who would argue for the exile date. (2.) As to Chaldaisms we have examined twenty-two examples suggested by the advocates of the late authorship. Of these not one can fairly be called a clear and unmistakeable Chaldee form, they can hardly be called later Hebraisms, because we find the very same words and forms in the earlier books. Our chapters are as free from Chaldaisms or late Hebraisms as any other twenty-six consecutive chapters in the Bible. (3.) We have named twenty-two words and phrases common to and distinctive of both the earlier and the later portions, many of them comparatively rare in other parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, expressions which we may take to be peculiar to Isaiah, the son of Amoz, foremost among which stands the striking phrase, "the Holy one of Israel," a title which is a fit echo of the vision of the Prophet's call. The natural inference is (apart from all external evidence, and even if the two portions had come down to us in two separate parts) that both came from one writer, or at least, that the later copied from and imitated the earlier." (4.) "We have traced a striking undersigned coincidence between the two portions in the acquaintance which the writer of both had with trees and with farming pursuits, the cultivation of the soil, peculiarities of climate, tending of domestic animals, gardens and vineyards, as these were known and carried on in Palestine. Many technical expressions and names occur, some common to both portions of which we have given a list of thirty-eight, some peculiar to each, but all affording subsidiary and cumulative proof of identity of knowledge and circumstances in the writer of both portions." In conclusion Dr. Urwick remarks "Each of the four topics of our inquiry, the external testimony, the *locus standi* of the writer, as witnessed by the prophecy itself, the relation of

the prophecy to other Old Testament books, and the testimony of the language—leads us to the conclusion that chapters xl. to lxvi. are, as the Jews believed, and as they placed them, part and parcel of the genuine prophecies of the great Isaiah the son of Amoz."

8. The objection to the genuineness of the last twenty-two chapters of Isaiah, founded on the impossibility of a supernatural foresight into the future, which of course applies to the whole Book of Isaiah, and to all the other books of the Old Testament Scriptures, has been considered in paragraph 2. It is obvious that the Jewish people had very different views of the nature of prophecy, or with what assurance could Isaiah have referred to his prophetic gift in the following passages:—Chapters xli. 21 to 23, xlii. 9, xlv. xlv. 10, xlviii. 6. Appeals which must have appeared to them most mendacious, if not felt to be true. The *objections founded on internal evidence* are of a more specious character as presented to the non-oriental type of thought which characterizes the mind of the Western nations. It is affirmed by some leading Critics that "as witnessed by the Prophecy itself" the writer's standing place is in the Babylonish Exile; that he writes as one of them either at Babylon or in Egypt; that all the allusions presuppose that Jerusalem is already destroyed, and the Jews already in captivity; that Babylon is in its full power and authority, and Cyrus and his conquests already known. They refer to the following passages as describing the people in captivity, and the cities of Judah laid waste:—Chapters xlii. 22, 4; xliii. 28; xlv. 26; li. 8; lxiv. 10, 11; but similar descriptions are found in the earlier prophecies of Isaiah, and refer undoubtedly, to the results of the Assyrian invasion and conquest and desolation of Israel, and of the disastrous effects of the Assyrian invasion of Judah. take, for instance, chapters i. 7, 8; iii. 8; v. 13; vi. 11, 12; x. 20, 21; xi. 12; xxii. 2. If the prophet could so express himself in reference to the calamities which followed the Assyrian and other less important invasions of the enemies of Judah; we need not wonder at the language employed in describing as if already accomplished, the future desolation of Judah, which would be realized in the Babylonish captivity. The prophet uses an ideal present, more familiar to Orientals than to us, though sometimes used by

our poets, in which the future is represented as past and already accomplished; the use of the preterite to express the future is sanctioned by the peculiarity of the Hebrew language, but our English translators adhering to the letter rather than to the meaning, have given a past instead of the future signification, which was in the mind of the writer. "The most special and remarkable use of this (past) tense is as the prophetic perfect; its abrupt appearance in this capacity confers upon descriptions of the future a most forcible and expressive touch of reality, and imparts in the most vivid manner a sense of the certainty with which the occurrence of a yet future event is contemplated by the speaker." (Driver on the use of the Tenses in Hebrew, 12mo., 1874, p. 15.) There can be no mistaking the prophets real stand-point as distinguished from his ideal, by those who believe the last twenty-seven chapters of the book to be the work of that Isaiah who wrote and prophesied in "the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, Kings of Judah," (chapter i. 1), and who are ignorant of the wonderful discovery of Modern Critics of "a great unknown," a pseudo Isaiah, who flourished in the time of the Captivity, but of whom the Jewish and the Christian Church knew nothing until the last quarter of the 18th Century! The prophet himself points out his own times, his real present. That he lived when Jerusalem and the Temple were still standing under the Kings of Judah, and while the usual sacrifices were offered, although idolatry was common appears from the following passages:—Chapters xl. 2, 9, 19, 20; xli. 7, 27; xliii. 22 to 24; xliv. 9 to 17; xlv. 6, 7; xlviii. 1 to 5; li. 17; lvii. 1, 3 to 7; lviii. 1 to 3, 13; lix. 3; lxii. 1; lxx. 2 to 7, 11, 12; lxvi. 3, 6. So also the allusions to Egypt, Ethiopia and Seba quite unsuitable to the political condition of these countries at the period of the Exile, chapter xliii. 3, xlv. 14. It is most natural that the Babylonish Captivity should be pointed out as an event certain though future, for already this had been foretold to Hezekiah by the prophet (Isaiah xxxix. 6 to 8.) Micah, Naham and Zephaniah contemporary with Isaiah, use similar language respecting the Babylonish Captivity. If on this account we reject the latter portion of Isaiah, we must also in the application of this sweeping criticism reject the writings

of these prophets. The mention of Cyrus (Koresh, *i.e.*, the Sun) is not as the proper name of the individual, but as a title of dignity, just as Pharoah was applied to the Rulers of Egypt; but even if used as a proper name, pointing out the very individual, there is a similar instance given, 2 Kings xiii. 2, in which Josiah is spoken of by name as the future destroyer of idolatry; so that there is nothing specially singular in this respect. The supposed difference in style and manner which are disputed, may be explained by the difference between youth and age between spoken addresses and carefully written discourses. There is an obvious natural connection between the later and the earlier prophecies as Bishop Wordsworth has clearly shown in his Commentary, who has also pointed out the use of Isaiah's language by Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

9. Setting aside the hypothetical author "the Great Unknown" for whom the authorship of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah is claimed, we have no name except Isaiah the son of Amoz, or any other person indicated in the whole course of Jewish or Christian Literature up to the eighteenth century. There is no genuine personal claimant, but simply an ideal one, the creation of a narrow dogmatic assumption, resting on principles of criticism, which if admitted as true, would be the destruction of all confidence in the veracity of the writers of the Old and New Testaments. On the other hand, the fact of our Lord and His apostles having given their testimony to the authorship of these last twenty-seven chapters by Isaiah the prophet by no less than twenty-six quotations in the Gospels and Epistles, which are pointed out in the marginal references of most editions of the English New Testament. This is sufficient for all who profess to believe in Christ, as a Divine Teacher. In reference to our Lord's testimony we must call attention to our remarks in Lecture III, paragraph 7 and 8. In the interval between the close of the Canon of the Jewish Church and the first century of the Christian Era, we have the testimony of Jesus the son of Sirach, (who probably wrote in the third century before Christ,) in Ecclesiasticus (chapter 48, verses 20 to 25) of which we simply give verses 24 and 25 as specially relevant. "He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last, and he

comforted them that mourned in Zion, (a reference to chapter xl. of Isaiah, the first of the disputed chapters of the later prophecy.) He shewed what should come to pass for ever, and secret things or ever they came." In addition we have that of Josephus, ("Antiquities of the Jews," Book xi., chapter 2,) who states that it was made known to Cyrus through the prophecy of Isaiah, that he should rebuild Jerusalem, and that this prophecy was given one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. These references are of use as indicating the views of the literary class among the Jews, apart from the influence of Christianity.

10. The Interpretation of the Messianic and other prophecies of Isaiah, is no part of our task. That work has been done by Dr. Payne Smith, J. Pye Smith, Alexander, Urwick, and many others. We will simply refer as a fair specimen of the general character of the expositions of the Higher Critics, their theories respecting "the Servant of Jehovah," chapter xlii. 1, 2, xlix. 1 to 8, l. 4, lii. 13, to the end of liii, all of which Christians in general refer to our Lord Jesus Christ, the Messiah. But these are referred to:—

(1.) To the people of Israel in their attitude towards the heathen during their captivity, by Rosenmüller and Hitzig.

(2.) To the youth of the nation as opposed to the incorrigible old, by Hendewerk.

(3.) To Israel in its prophetic calling, suffering for the gentiles, and partly to the Messiah, by Hoffmann.

(4.) To the Prophetic class or order, by Gesenius, De Wette, Umbreit.

Of course these views are opposed by Havernick, Delitzsch and Drechsler, and by all the critics of the Orthodox School; further remarks are unnecessary.

11. The Prophet Zechariah the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo, one of the Priests who returned with Zerubbabeh from Babylon, (Nehemiah xii. 4) he was probably born in Babylon; began to prophecy when a young man, the second year of Darius Hystarpes, B.C. 520; he was contemporary with Haggai. The first six chapters of his prophecy consist of a series of visions bearing upon the future of the Jewish Church and people.

Chapters vii. and viii. refer to the settlement of some important questions two years later. Until the middle of the Seventeenth Century the unity and authenticity of the entire book were universally received, on the authority of the Jewish Canon. The critical controversy from that period refers to the last six chapters ix. to xiv., and is remarkable for two peculiarities: *first*, that the Critics contend that these chapters are of greater antiquity than the times of Zechariah, whereas the general tendency of "the Higher Criticism" is to throw doubts on the antiquity of the Sacred Books. *Second*, that the first objections to the genuineness of the last six chapters as forming no part of Zechariah's prophecy, came from English Critics of the Orthodox School. Joseph Mede in 1653 was led to apply to Jeremiah the last six chapters, from the fact that in the Gospel of St. Matthew (chapter xxvii. 9) the citation from Zechariah xi. 12, 13, is ascribed to the Prophet Jeremiah. He thought that these chapters of Jeremiah were found after the Captivity, and added by Zechariah to his prophecy. He was followed by Kidder, 1700; Hammond, 1681; Whiston, 1722; and Newcome, (A.D., 1788.) The latter was the first to advocate the theory that the six chapters ix. to xiv. of Zechariah, are the work not of Zedekiah, but of two distinct prophets. This supposition of two distinct prophets, which Bunsen considers "the greatest triumph of Modern Criticism," is an answer to the supposed bigotted, traditional, conservative character of Orthodox British Critics. In this case, the evidence, arising out of the prophet's stand point, appeared to them to imply the earlier date of the last six chapters. It is singular that in the English Bible (King James Translation) the dates affixed to sundry chapters taken generally from Ussher's Chronology, lead to the same conclusion: the beginning of the prophecy has, B.C. 520, which is the true date of the earlier prophecies, appended in the Margin, while the date beginning with the ninth chapter is 586 B.C., which is that of the Captivity. In Germany, Flügel, Döderlein, Michaelis, Eichhorn and others advocated this theory, with their own variations. As a specimen: (1) Bertholdt, Gesenius, Maurer, and Bunsen attributed chapters ix. to xi. to one Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah, whose name occurs in Isaiah chapter viii. 2. Chap-

ters xii. to xiv. they ascribe to some one living in the time of Uzziah, though Bunsen thinks the writer of these Chapters was Urijah the son of Shemaiah, mentioned in Jeremiah xxvi. 20. (2) Rosenmüller and Davidson place the writer under King Uzziah. (3) Hitzig and Credner, from about the age of Ahaz or earlier. (4) Knobel places chapters ix. to xi. under the reign of Jotham and Ahaz. (5) Newcome thought that chapters ix. to xi. were written before the Assyrian Captivity, and xi. and xii. soon after Josiah's reign. (6) Ewald thinks chapters ix., xi., xiii., 7 to 9 belong to the time of Ahaz. All these, with Dr. J. Pye Smith and Dr. Adam Clarke, suppose an earlier period than that of the return from exile. There is much in their arguments to justify their views, which have been, and are yet held by men of learning, ability and piety. Differences of opinion on critical points are not inconsistent with strict orthodoxy of faith in the great truths of revealed religion. By the writer of the Article Zechariah in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, and by the writer of the Introduction to this Prophet in the Speakers' Commentary, the conclusion arrived at is, that "it is not easy to say which way the weight of evidence preponderates." It is, however, a singular fact that some of the German Critics, as Eichhorn, Paulus, and Vatke, in direct opposition to the theories of their learned brethren, who contend for a much earlier period than that of the exile, go to the other extreme, and ascribe these later prophecies to the period of Alexander's conquests. Corrodi thought that chapter xiv. was written so late as the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees!

12. To exhibit more clearly the views of the Critics of the present Century in reference to the dates assigned to the disputed chapters Zechariah ix. to xiv., we give Dr. Pusey's table, with which he has enriched his Introduction to Zechariah in his "Minor Prophets" 4to pp. 511, 512. The regular order of the chapters is followed as far as possible for convenience of reference.

Chapters IX. to XIV.

(a.) At the earliest in the first half and middle of the Fifth Century, B.C., by Vatke.

(b.) "The younger poet, whose visions were added to those of Zechariah," by Geiger.

(c.) Last years of Darius Hystaspes, or first of Xerxes.  
Gramberg.

(d.) After the battle of Issus, 333 B.C. Eichhorn.

(e.) After 330 B.C. Böttcher.

(f.) Uzziah, 772 B.C. Hitzig, Rosenmuller.

#### Chapter IX.

(a.) To Hyreanus the first, as Messiah. Paulus.

(b.) To the time of Alexander the Great. Corrodi.

(c.) Perhaps the time of Zephaniah. Gesenius.

(d.) Uzziah. Bleek, Forberg.

(e.) Between the carrying away of the two tribes and half,  
and the fall of Damascus. Maurer.

(f.) Under Uzziah and Jeroboam. Ortenberg.

(g.) After the capture of Damascus by Tiglath Pileser.

#### Movers.

##### Chapters IX. to XI.

(a.) Under Ahaz during the war with Pekah. Bertholdt.

(b.) Beginning of Ahaz. Crednet.

(c.) Later time of Hezekiah. Baur.

(d.) Between the invasion of Pul and Tiglath Pileser's  
conquest of Damascus, B.C. 771—740. Knobel.

(e.) "Very probably Uzziah's favourite prophet in his  
prosperous days." Dean Stanley.

(f.) Contemporary with Isaiah under Ahaz. Bunsen.

Chapters IX. to XI. and XIII., 7 to 9. The first ten years  
of Pekah. Ewald.

##### Chapters IX. and X.

(a.) Perhaps contemporary with Zephaniah in the time of  
Josiah. De Wette.

(b.) Not before Jeroboam, nor before Uzziah's accession,  
but before the death of Zechariah the son of Jeroboam. Hitzig.

##### Chapter X.

(a.) Ahaz, soon after the war with Pekah and Rezin  
Bleek.

(b.) Soon after the death of Hosea, and before Pekah's  
accession, B.C. 739—731. Maurer.

(c.) The anarchy after the death of Jeroboam the Second,  
B.C. 784—772, by Ortenberg.



## Chapter XI.

- (a.) Might be in the time of Ahaz. De Wette.
- (b.) In the reign of Hosea. Maurer.
- (c.) Possibly contemporary with Hosea. Baner.
- (d.) Beginning of the reign of Menahem. Hitzig.

## Chapter XI., verses 1 to 3.

- (a.) Invasion of some Assyrian King. Bleek.
- (b.) B.C. 716. Ortenberg.

## Chapter XII., verses 4 to 17. Menahem and end of Uzziah. Maurer.

Chapter XI., 4 to 17., XIII., verses 7 to 9. Shortly after the war of Pekah and Rezin, by Ortenberg.

## Chapters XII. to XIV.

- (a.) Manasseh, in view of a siege by Esarhaddon. Hitzig.
- (b.) Between B.C. 607—604, not fulfilled. Knobel.
- (c.) Soon after Josiah's death, by Uriah, Jeremiah's contemporary B.C. 607 or 606, by Bunsen.
- (d.) Most probably while the Chaldees were already before Jerusalem, shortly before 599 B.C. Schrader.

## Chapters XII. to XIII., 6.

- (a.) Under Joiakim, or Jeconiah, or Zedekiah in Nebuchadnezzar's last expedition—not fulfilled. Bertholdt.
- (b.) The last years of Jehoiakim, or under Jehoiachin or Zedekiah. Bleek.
- (c.) Fourth year of Jehoiakim. Maurer.
- (d.) The latter half of 600 B.C. Ortenberg.
- (e.) Shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem. Ewald.

## Chapters XII., XIII. 6, XIV.

- (a.) Zedekiah, beginning of the revolt. Stanley.
- (b.) After the death of Josiah. Kahnis.

## Chapter XIII. 7 to the end.

- (a.) Probably under Josiah or Jehoiakim. Bleek.
- (b.) Soon after Josiah's death. Bertholdt.
- (c.) Fifth year of Jehoiakim. Maurer.

Chapters XII., XIII. 6 to the end. Prophecies of fanatical contents, which defy all historical interpretation, but must rather be conceived as future than past. De Wette, Bertholdt.

Chapter XIV. Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees. Corrodi and others.

13. The following German Critics contend for the genuineness of chapter ix. to xiv. as part of the original prophecy of Zechariah, Carpzovius, Jahn, Koster, Hengstenberg, Binger, De Wette, (last edition) A. Theiner, Herbst, Umbreit, Havernick, Keil, Stähelin, Von Hoffman, Ebrard, Schegg, Baumgarten, Neumann, Klieforth, Köhler and Sandrock. Among the English Critics who adopt the same conclusion are Blaney, Henderson, Wordsworth, Pusey, and others. Looking at the various and discordant opinions of the Critics, Dr. Pusey remarks, with great reason, on the boasted unity of the results of this "Modern" "Criticism," (put forth in "Essays and Reviews" by Professor Jowett,) that in this assertion the Professor "must have been thinking of the agreement of its negations;" and in addition, observes that "there must be some mistake either in the tests applied, or in their application, which admits of a variation of at least 450 years from sometime in the reign of Uzziah, say 770 B.C. to later than 330 B.C.," a period equal to that which intervenes between the reign of Henry the Fifth and Queen Victoria!

14. The Philological argument on the likeness or dissimilarity of language, as a test of identity of authorship or the contrary, and to which so much deference has been paid, is now admitted to be worthless except negatively. It may afford a reasonable ground for doubt, but of itself can determine nothing. Tables of words exhibiting in full detail lists of those used, or not used by this or that author make a show and carry with them the impression of a profound study, which is really nothing but a careful manipulation of one or other of the grand Hebrew Concordances: they prove little: the use of like and unlike words will of necessity depend upon the subjects treated: the application of this fancied critical test has been found wanting when applied to well-known English writers. (See Stanley Leathes "Witness of the Old Testament to Christ" 8vo. pp. 282-3.) With respect to the last six chapters of Zechariah, there seems to be no difference in style between them and the preceding chapters. Pressel an opponent of the genuineness of these chapters, remarks, that the man who professes to see a contrast in that respect between the two portions

of this prophet, "must have an ear fine enough to hear the grass when it grows." The fact that in Zechariah there are not only allusions to the earlier prophets, but also to the later prophets, Ezekiel and Jeremiah seemed so convincing to De Wette that after having in the first three Editions of his Introduction denied the oneness of the Prophecy, he found himself compelled to admit that the later chapters must also belong to the age of Zechariah. This recantation of De Wette's is a fact which must tend to counteract the influence of much of the adverse criticism of his class of Critics. No one can compare chapter ix. 2 of Zachariah with Ezekiel xxviii. 3, without noticing the allusions. So also ix. 3 with 1 Kings xvii. 27; or x. 3 with Ezekiel xxxiv. 17-24; or xiii. 8, 9 with Ezekiel v. 12; or xiv. 8 with Ezekiel xlvii. 1-12; or verses 10, 11 of chapter xiv. with Jeremiah xxxi. 38-40; or verses 20, 21 of chapter xiv. with Ezekiel xliii. 12 and xlv. 9. It is difficult to account for these on the supposition of an earlier date than that usually assigned.

15. While firmly believing in the unity of the Book of Zechariah's Prophecy, it must however be admitted that there are references and allusions sufficient to justify doubt as to the date commonly assigned to the last six chapters, and call forth enquiry and discussion. Two especially, (1) The fact of Matthew's allusion to the passage Zechariah xi. 12 in chapter xxxii. 8-10, as if from Jeremiah the Prophet. We think that Scrivener and Lightfoot account for this apparent discrepancy by a reference to the fact that according to the Talmud, Jeremiah's prophecy was placed first in the order of the Prophetic Books, and thus gave its name to the whole body of the prophetic writings. This is in accordance with the ordinary mode of reference to quotations from their Sacred Books by the Jews, which was to the technical name of the Section, rather than to the particular book from which the quotations were taken. Thus the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrew, chapter iv. 7, quotes Psalm xc. 7 as "in David" referring to the general title of the Collection of Psalms, and not to David as the author of that Psalm which was evidently written long after the time of the sweet singer of Israel, though before the Captivity. If the reading in Matthew be incorrect, from an error of a transcriber, it must have been committed very early, as all the more

ancient MSS. contain it except two of the old Italic version, (before Jerome's Vulgate). It is remarkable that Matthew though he quotes from Zechariah twice in other places, and from Micah once, does not mention the name of the prophet. (2.) The second objection is taken from the prophet's apparent stand point in the last six Chapters: he speaks as if the old Empires of Assyria, Babylon and Egypt, and the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel, Philistia, &c., &c., were yet in all their glory as before the Persian conquests. Stähelin remarks in reply, that even under the Persian Government the political relations of the Jewish people continued much the same as before. The old political estrangement and prejudices between them and their neighbours remained, though the actual warfare in the field was prevented by the Persian rule. All these subject provinces of Persia were ready to assert their independence, and occasionally by so doing provoked the punishment which the prophet foretold in respect of Damascus, Phœnicia, Philistia, &c.: he tries to tranquilize the people and encourage them to remain faithful to the Persian supremacy, holding out the promised union of Israel and Judah in the times of the Messiah. The moral condition of Jerusalem had also deteriorated: there was a falling off in the zeal for the re-building of the Temple: the old vices had re-appeared in full vigor, covetousness, oppression of the poor and every form of selfishness: hence much of the language employed by the prophet is applicable to a time long past as well as to the time in which he lived. The last six Chapters are probably the production of the prophet's old age, in which like his predecessor Isaiah, he takes a wider range and sets forth the future destinies of the Church for the comfort and instruction of believers in all ages. It must be admitted that these prophecies, both the earlier and the later, are the most difficult to understand of all the prophetic writings. Centuries hence the course of events may help to a right interpretation of them. The Messianic prophecies cannot be misunderstood as to their general bearing. Dr. Pusey's "Commentary on the Minor Prophets," 4to., and the Bampton lecture, "Zechariah and his prophecies," by the Rev. C. H. H. Wright, are the most recent contributions towards a right understanding of this the most important of the Minor Prophets. We

may also notice as remarkably full and comprehensive the Commentary of Dr. J. W. Chambers, in Lange's Commentary, edited by Schaff, royal 8vo., 1874; also McCaul's translation of David Kimchi's Commentary on Zechariah, 8vo., 1837, which is an instructive specimen of the ultra anti-Christian class of Jewish interpreters.

16. We now come to the Book of the Prophet Daniel, which furnishes the occasion for the last and not the least important of the four great decisive battle fields of "the Higher Criticism" bearing upon the Old Testament. Daniel occupies a singularly peculiar and marked position, in all respects different from the other prophets of the Old Testament dispensation. A noble youth, distinguished by his piety and intellectual power, is taken away a captive to Babylon, rises from the position of a slave to that of a statesman, endures persecution, and is a confessor for the truth; exercises no small influence over his Babylonian, Median and Persian Sovereigns for the benefit of the Israelitish race, especially in reference to the permission to return to the land of their fathers, and in the rebuilding of Jerusalem and of the Temple; he is also honoured as the medium of communicating to mankind the most important and comprehensive series of prophecies extending through the future history of the human race to the consummation of all things. His position is one of sympathy for Israel, but independent, identifying himself more particularly with the course of "the world powers," present and future, in their relation to the Church of the coming Messiah. From his writings originated the idea of a philosophy of Universal History as a Divine plan and purpose gradually unfolding, and amid all the changes of dynasties and powers training the human race for the advent of King Messiah, and for the teachings and spiritual influences of the Christian dispensation. The Prophet Daniel, the *man greatly beloved*, (Chapter x. 11) stands as Baumgarten remarks, as "the official Seer of Jehovah in the world kingdom," pointing towards the grand result "the Kingdom of God." In the discharge of his office his prophecies are at once so comprehensive as to take in the whole range of human history, and yet some of them are so minute and exact in their details as to provoke attacks upon their genuineness from the time of Porphyry in the third Century to our day.

17. The Book of Daniel is written partly in Chaldee, chapter ii from v. 4 (latter half) to the end of chapter vii., the language is said to be older than the Chaldee of Ezra. The Hebrew resembles the Hebrew of Jeremiah and Habbakuk. The Greek words which have been supposed to indicate a later age, were received no doubt through the Greek population in Asia Minor with which there was at that time an increasing intercourse ; one instance of this is, that the Greek poet Alcæus had a brother who served in the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar. The unity of the Book is now generally admitted, with some few exceptions, as for instance (1) Spinoza and after him Hobbes, Sir Isaac Newton and Beausobre, regard Chap. I. to VII. as not written by Daniel but by some other prophet. (2) Eichhorn imagines one writer of Chap. I. II. verses 4 to the end, and of Chap. VII. to XII. : the other, the author of Chap. II. verse 4 to Chap. VI. 29. (3) Berthold and Augusti fancy they can recognize nine writers ! (4) Michaelis thinks that Chap. III. to VI. are of later date. (5) Sack, Herbet, Speil, and others, advocate a two-fold authorship. (6) Zoëkler regards chapter x. to xii as largely interpolated by a writer of the Maccabean age. Hitzig, De Wette, Gesenius as well as Bleek, with all the olden critics admit the unity of the book. Some think that Daniel also wrote 2 Chron. xxxvi. from verse 8 to the end, and also the first chapter of Ezra, which fills up a gap between chapter ix. and x. of Daniel's book : but these are simply guesses without authority or evidence, though not improbable. Whether the book in its present state be the work of Daniel, or whether he simply preserved the records, state papers, and his own memorandums which were edited by Ezra or some other authorized person is a point of no importance.

The first attack on the genuineness and authenticity of Daniel was made by the learned Porphyry towards the conclusion of the third century of our era. A full and detailed account of his objections may be found in the Seventh Vol. of Lardner's Works (8vo edition). In ability and fulness of statement and acuteness he is not surpassed by the learned who have since followed in his wake : his strongest objection is to the particularity of the details in chapter xi. which refers to the history of the Ptolemies and Selencidæ in their relation to the Jewish people, and which being

so clear and exact must according to his views have been written after the event: he supposed the writer to have lived soon after the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes: hence, the prophecies of the four kingdoms which are generally interpreted as referring to Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, he would close with Alexander's successors. "The argument of Porphyry is an exact anticipation of the position of many modern critics. It involves this twofold assumption: first that the whole book ought to contain predictions of the same character, and secondly that definite predictions are impossible." (Westcott.) It is paraded in our day, as unanswerable. "When the objections of Porphyry have since been from time to time started afresh, the reply has often been that they are merely Porphyry's old objections re-appearing. On this rejoinder it was once remarked by a venerable scholar and divine of our day, 'they have always re-appeared, because they have never been answered.' This is substantially true," (Stanley Jewish Church Vol. III. p. 69). It is surprising that a man of Dean Stanley's penetration could not see that on Porphyry's assumed principles, applied to the question of the authenticity of the whole revelation of God in the Old and New Testaments, we could not answer any objections. If a Divine foreknowledge, and a revelation of the Divine plan to man is admitted as impossible, then, not only the Book of Daniel, but the whole Bible must be given up. This was clearly seen by Scholars and Divines up to the Seventeenth Century, and hence Porphyry's objections *with them* had no weight—and in our day, they can have no weight with those who believe in the fact of Miracle and Prophecy. Uriel Acosta (a Jewish Atheist), Collins and the English Deists, with the learned Germans Semler, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Berthold, De Wette, Lengerke, Hilgenfeld, Rosenmüller, Knobel, Lucke and Baron Bunsen followed and adopted what they regarded as "a natural result of historical Criticism." Corrodi opposed the genuineness of the whole book: Hitzig declare its contents "irrational and impossible." The great stumbling block to Hitzig and his class of Sceptical Critics, is the record of miraculous interpositions in the Book of Daniel. To those who believe in the great and yet most natural of Miracles, a Divine revelation, nothing appears more reasonable

than the three special Miracles recorded in Daniel. If ever any Divine interposition might be hoped for and expected, it was at that time when the calamities of the Jewish Church had culminated in the fall of the monarchy, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, and the carrying away of the population to Babylon. To many it then appeared as if the covenant God of their father Abraham had cast off his people, and given them up to the control of the heathen. These special manifestations of the power of Jehovah in defence of the faithful among his servants, and as vindicating against idolatry the doctrine of the Divine Unity, must have been a comfort and support to the Jewish captives, as well as admonitory to the Heathen. However "irrational" to the Sceptic, they are to all believers proofs of the wisdom, as well as of the goodness of God. In England Dr. Davidson, Dr. Arnold, Dr. Milman and Dean Stanley are the principal writers who follow Porphyry. On the other side among the Germans who advocate the old orthodox opinion are to be found Lüdewald, Staüdlein, Jahn, Lask, Stendel, Hengstenberg, Havernik, Dereser, Perea, Sack, Herbst, Scholz, Delitzsch, and Keil: among the English the vast majority of the Critics and Divines. So far as mere critical logomachy is concerned, the defenders of the authenticity of Daniel's prophecies are able on purely critical grounds to hold their own: but all this class of proofs they deem but secondary, compared with the most undeniable and convincing of all evidences the testimony of our Lord, "the Great Teacher," and that of the Apostles, both of which we find recorded in the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament. It is undeniable that these testimonies give the highest sanction to the Canon of the Old Testament; this will be clearly seen by a reference to Lecture I, paragraph 13, the substance of which is contained in the following extract "In the Evangelists and in the Epistles, our Lord and His Apostles quote from the Law of Moses, and the Prophets, and the Psalms, (Luke xxiv. 44,) more frequently using the shorter formula "The Law and the Prophets," (Romans iii. 21.)

18. In this Canon, the prophecy of Daniel is placed, not among the prophets, the extraordinary official Ministers of the Theocracy, to which position Daniel had no claim, having exercised



his office in a foreign land, and while a servant of a heathen government: his prophecies therefore are properly among the Sacred Writings (Hagiographa), where we now find them in the Canonical lists. No opposition to Daniel's canonicity is found in Jewish Rabbinical literature; in none of the books discovered and collected since the return from Babylon, are there any traces of a discussion about Daniel: (Darenbourg, a Jewish critic.) Before the Canon was formed Ezekial had referred to Daniel chapter xiv. 14, 20. and again chapter xxviii. 3 as a great name, known and honoured among his fellow exiles in Babylon and its vicinity: The prophecy of Zechariah in two of his visions presuppose a knowledge of Daniel's vision of the four world monarchies, see chapter i. 12 18 to 21; and chapter vi. 1 to 3. Nehemiah's prayer, chapter ix. 6 to 17, clearly refers to that of Daniel chapter ix. 4, 14. The remains of Jewish literature found in the Apocrypha furnish also some confirmation of the decision of the Canon. Upon these writings the Book of Daniel exercised a perceptible influence, but it is distinguished from them by its freedom from the errors and anachronisms, the religious, ceremonial, and moral development which mark the apocryphal literature of the book of Esdras, the additions to Daniel, Tobit, the Sibylline books and the like." (Speaker's Commentary Vol. 6, p. 212.) But none of these apocryphal writings say anything of a personal Messiah, from which we may infer the non existence of a pseudo Daniel in the days of the Maccabees. In the Book of Baruch, supposed by Ewald to have been written during the Persian period, there are references to the Pentateuch, Isaiah, and Daniel. The Book of Jesus the son of Sirach, which is of the third Century before our era, makes no mention of Daniel, but is indirectly a strong proof of the conviction that Daniel's prophecy must have possessed undeniable claims as one of the recognized oracles of God, and for this reason had been included in the Sacred Writings; for if the Canon had been formed so late as the time of the Maccabees, and so carelessly as to admit a book hitherto unknown, ascribed to Daniel, how is it that such a book as that of the son of Sirach was not included? Men do not canonize their contemporaries, and if the Jews at Jerusalem had placed the work of a pseudo Daniel among the Sacred Writings,

would the Jews of Babylon and of the Dispersion have received it as Canonical? to believe this, is harder than to accept the decision of the Jewish and Christian Churches. The first Book of Maccabees expressly indicates that there was no prophet at that time, (1 Maccabee iv. 44—46, ix. 27, xiv. 41.) The third Book of the Sibylline Oracles, written by a Jew of the Maccabean age, quotes the prophecy of the Ten horns (Daniel vii.) and refers to Isaiah and Zechariah. The first Book of Maccabees, written about 100 to 120 years B.C., originally in Hebrew, records an address, the dying words of old Mattathias to his sons (167 B.C.), in which reference is made to the faithfulness of the three Jewish Confessors and of Daniel (chapter ii. 59, 60,) and to the remarkable phrase, "the abomination of desolation." (Daniel xi. 31). "Two points have been observed in that speech of Mattathias as bearing on the book of Daniel: (1) his mention of Daniel's companions and of Daniel, in the same simple way in which he had named other scripture examples before them,—Abraham, Joseph, Phineas, Joshua, Caleb, David, Elias, and that in the order in which their deliverances are related in the book, Daniel's companions being named before himself. Their histories too are touched on in a single word, as recorded in Daniel,— 'Annaiias, Azarias, and Misael, by *believing* were saved out of the flames (Daniel iii. 17, 18, 28), Daniel, for his *innocency* was delivered from the mouth of lions (Daniel vi. 22).' (2) his acknowledgement that a time of destruction was come, such as Daniel had foretold (chapter viii. 19, xi. 35): and his absolute certainty, as to the issue, such as the knowledge of the prophecies of Daniel would justify." (Pusey's Daniel p. 323. As one of the apocryphal writings we may regard the version of Daniel which was made for the Septuagint Greek scriptures of the Old Testament: among other instances of incorrect renderings and glosses, it so alters the original prophecy of the Seventy Weeks to make it suit the times of Antiochus Epiphanes; while the original Daniel in Hebrew and Chaldee is an encouragement to the Jews to persevere in a time of trial, the Greek copy, made probably in the Syrian period, stimulates to political revolution. It contains additions which were never known in any but the Greek language, and therefore certainly

much later than the time of Daniel. In the place of this incorrect translation, the vision of Theodotion was substituted. The Book of Enoch which is supposed to be quoted by the Apostle Jude—was written, according to Ewald, between 144 B.C. to 50 B.C., but contains fragments of an earlier date, as well as interpolations of a later date. Westcott thinks that this book “may be regarded as describing an important phase of Jewish opinion in the generation shortly before the coming of Christ. It is evident enough that the writer was familiar with the language of Daniel.

19. There is a fact recorded by Josephus alone, which, as it bears directly upon the genuineness of Daniel's prophecies, is regarded with suspicion by Modern Critics, as a mere popular tradition, but even as such it proves the general opinion of the reality of Daniel's prophecies, recognized as such from the time of the return from Captivity. In the *Antiquities*, (xi. chapter viii., section 5) Josephus relates the visit of Alexander the Great to Jerusalem after the battle of Issus, and that he was met by Jaddua the High Priest, who shewed to him Daniel's prophecy of the conquest of Persia by the Greeks. It is possible and even probable that the narrative in Josephus is correct. Jerusalem was a strategic position not to be neglected by Alexander, though somewhat out of the usual direct route to Egypt. It was deemed of importance by the rival Kings of Egypt and Assyria in their later wars, and the High Priest had refused to assist by supplies, the enemy of the King of Persia when besieging Tyre. It is very natural that Alexander, who had just made such a terrible example of the Governor of Gaza, should propose to punish the High Priest for his fidelity to his proper sovereign; and it was equally natural and probable that the rapid conquests of Alexander should open the eyes of the High Priest to the meaning of Daniel's prophecy, (chapter viii. 6, 7, 21) and that he should endeavour to conciliate the conqueror by a reference to the prophecy; it is also quite consistent with the character of Alexander and his susceptibility to spiritual impressions as recorded by Historians, that the prophecy would be reverentially believed. The facts that Alexander favoured the Jews, that he enlisted many of them into his army, restored to them privileges of

which they had been long deprived, and allotted to them a valuable and large quarter in his new city of Alexandria, are accounted for, if Josephus statement be true. But whether we receive it as true or not, the testimony of Josephus to Daniel is decisive; he does not confound his prophecies with apocryphal Maccabean writings of which he appears to have known nothing, but challenges admiration for the prophet. "Let those who read Daniel's prophecies marvel at one so highly honoured. He is one of the greatest of the prophets. Kings and nations combined to pay him honour while living; and though dead his memory shall never perish." We may conclude the list of historical and other evidences which bear upon this subject by a quotation from Dr. Pusey, characteristic of his reverential piety, and of his thorough deference and submission to "the authority which stands alone;" his words are "I cannot, as some religious and eminent defenders of Daniel have done, add to these human evidences the testimony of our Lord, or use Divine authority as a make weight to human proof. There we are altogether on different grounds, in a different atmosphere. What I have proposed to myself in this course of lectures is to meet a boastful Criticism upon its own grounds, and to shew its failure where it claims to be most triumphant. The authority of our Lord stands alone. It is the Word of Him, Who being God, spake with a Divine knowledge, perfect, infallible!"

20. The objections impugning the genuineness and authenticity of the Book of Daniel, which are found in the writings of the late Baron Bunsen, Dr. Arnold and Dean Milman, and of Dean Stanley (who happily survives), have a claim to special and separate notice from the high literary position and the personal worth of these gentlemen. We omit Dr. S. Davidson as his late writings are mere compendiums of German Criticism and throw no new light or darkness on the controversy; the best reply to Dr. Davidson in 1863, is to be found in Dr. Davidson in 1839, 1843, 1854 and 1856; certainly in his case "the old wine is better than the new." (1) Baron Bunsen has adopted and modified the theory of Ewald that the real Daniel lived at the court of the Assyrian King in Ninevah about 700 B.C.; that a Jew of the time of Alexander the Great invented the prophecies

of the "four world kingdoms" and attributed them to Daniel, while another Jew of the era of the Maccabees added the rest. Bunsen thinks that this Daniel at Ninevah who lived under Pul and Sargon about 750 B.C. left behind him figurative prophecies concerning the destruction of Asshur (the winged lion) by the Babylonian Empire (the devouring bear)—that these prophecies together with the legends of Daniels life were placed by a writer of the Maccabean period in their present form. Of these theories there are no facts in proof, and all testimony is to the contrary.

(2) Dr. Arnold's preconceived notions of the nature of prophecy made his opinion of the genuineness of Daniel a mere record of a foregone conclusion. In his letter to Tucker (*Life* p. 59) we have his views clearly expressed "I think that with the exception of those prophecies which relate to our Lord, the object of prophecy is rather to delineate principles and states of opinion which shall come, than external events. I grant that Daniel seems to furnish an exception." Again in his letter to Sir Thomas Pasley, (*Life* p. 505) "I am very glad indeed that you like my Prophecy Sermons; the points in particular on which I do not wish to enter, if I could help it, but which very likely I shall be forced to touch on, relate to the latter chapters of Daniel, which, if genuine, would be a clear exception to my canon of interpretation, as there can be no reasonable spiritual meaning made out of the Kings of the North and South. But I have long thought, that the greater part of the Book of Daniel is most certainly a very late work of the time of the Maccabees, and the pretended prophecy about the Kings of Grecia and Persia, and of the North and South is mere history like the poetical prophecies in Virgil and elsewhere." (3) Dean Milman in his *History of the Jews*, Vol. I, p. 413, more guardedly expresses similar views, "That the early part (of the Book of Daniel) contains the traditions of the captivity and the life and times of Daniel seems probable—but the prophecies down to Antiochus read so singularly like a transcript of the history, and are in this respect so altogether unlike any other in either testament, that they might almost be used, so plain are they and distinct and unvisionary as historical documents." (4) Dean Stanley in his *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, Vol. III, p. 71, 74,

fairly states the argument for and against the genuineness of the Book of Daniel, all of which we have already noticed: his crowning objection is "the matter of fact descriptions of the leagues and conflicts between the Greco-Syrian and Greco Egyptian Kings, and of the reign of Antiochus IV in Daniel xi. 45." He sums up the result which is that "the arguments incline largely to the later date." If internal evidence alone were concerned, we may admit that then the dispute would resolve itself into what has been aptly called "a battle of conflicting probabilities," (Speaker's Commentary Vol. 6, p. 214.) The main argument drawn from the minuteness of the detail in the history of the Ptolomies and Selencidæ up to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, as being contrary to the usual tone of prophecy, and because there can be no reasonable spiritual meaning made out of the Kings of the North and of the South, will not stand a full investigation. The character of prophecy varies: it is sometimes plain and palpable, at other times indistinct. Was there no spiritual purpose in forewarning the pious and patriotic section of the Jews, of the last and greatest persecution "of the world power," which aimed at the destruction of the Temple, and the utter obliteration of the records of their religion, and of their faith, with the avowed object of setting up in its place the idolatries of Greece and of the yet more corrupt worship of their neighbours? Surely this prophecy was to the Jews as "a light shining in a dark place," (2 Pet. i. 19.) Of the truth of which there is external evidence to us which cannot be set aside, especially the fact of the admission of the Book into the Jewish Canon—an impossibility as regards any book or writing of the Maccabean age; and beyond this and above it, the testimony of our Lord and of His apostles, confirming the testimony of the Canon of the Jewish Church.

21. Some miscellaneous objections remain to be noted. Two so-called "Historical inaccuracies": the first relating to an apparent discrepancy between Daniel and Jeremiah in the statement in Daniel, (chapter I) of Nebuchadnezzar having besieged Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim: Nebuchadnezzar then was subordinate to his father who died the next year, so that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar as sole ruler is the fourth of Jehoiakim as given by Jeremiah (chapter

xxv. 1.) So also Berosus quoted by Josephus contra Apion I, chapter 19—the second relates to Daniel's account of Belshazzar and of Darius the Mede, names stated as not to be found in other ancient historians. Since this charge was made the name of Belshazzar has been found in the Babylonian Cylinders which describe him as the son of Nabunahit (the Nabonides of Berosus, though called by Herodotus Labynetos): he is called the son of Nebuchadnezzar according to oriental usage which applies the term to any descendent of a remote ancestor—he was probably a grandson, and associated with his father Nabonides as second king in the government. At the time of the siege of Babylon, Nabonides was in command of an army at Borsippa and thus escaped the slaughter when the Medes and Persians took the city; this fact of two Kings over Babylon, explains why Daniel was known by the title of the third in the kingdom by Belshazzar, (Daniel chapter v. 16, 29). That Darius the Mede is only another name for the Cyaxeres the second of Xenophon, is now generally admitted, though his reign being so short has been unnoticed, being altogether eclipsed by the great glory attached to the name and character of Cyrus. Daniel alone gave us his name in connexion with some important facts in his own history. A number of trifling cavils as to whether Susa was built in the time of Daniel, or whether Persia (Elam) formed a portion of Nebuchadnezzar's dominion, or whether government by Satraps was an institution of ancient or recent origin, or what was their exact number under Babylonian or Persian rule, and sundry other matters which have no special bearing on the truth of the narrative, are fully examined and settled by Dr. Pusey and Dr. Tregelles as well as by Keil and others.

22. I must conclude this Lecture by two valuable extracts from the learned work of Dr. Pusey, justifiable by the importance of the question at issue in the character of Daniels prophecies, and specially valuable as the outpourings of one of the most able and devout of our Commentators. With some of his interpretations of Daniel's prophecy, as well as with his ultra-sacramental teachings, with which most of us are familiar, it is scarcely necessary to say, that the Lecturer has no sympathy. The first extract refers to the cumulative evidence of the genuine-

ness of Daniel. "I have pointed out to you that, place the book of Daniel where men will, it contains undeniable prophecy; that its prophecy is at once vast and minute, relating both to the natural events of God's Providence, and the supernatural order of His Grace; that its minute prophecy is in harmony with that of the rest of Holy Scripture; so that they who reject it, do, either nakedly or on the one or other plea, reject all definite prophecy, leaving, of Holy Scripture, only what they will; that, whereas the minute prophecies of the book of Daniel exclude any date between its real date, that of the close of the captivity, and that which must have been its date, had it been a human book, that of Antiochus Epiphanes, the later date is precluded, both by the history of the closing of the Canon, and by the references to the book of Daniel, as well in books of the Canon, Nehemiah and Zechariah, as also in other books, before, in, or soon after the date of Epiphanes, and also by the character of its first Greek translation; that neither its language, nor its historical references, nor its doctrines, imply any later date than that of Daniel himself; but that, contrariwise, the character of its Hebrew exactly fits with the period of Daniel, that of its Chaldee excludes any later period; that the minute fearless touches, involving details of customs, state-institutions, history, belong to a contemporary; and that what are, superficially, historical difficulties, disappearing upon fuller knowledge, are indications of the accurate, familiar knowledge of one personally acquainted with customs or events. I have shewn too how its doctrines are in harmony with those of other Scriptures, earlier and later."

The second extracts is a striking picture of the Scepticism of our day. "It is not, for the present, a day of naked blasphemy. The age is mostly too soft for it. Voltaire's '*écrasez l'infâme*' shocks it. Yet I know not whether the open blasphemy of the 18th century is more offensive than the cold-blooded patronising ways of the 19th. Rebellion against God is not so degrading, nor so deceiving, as a condescending acknowledgement of His Being, while it denies His rights over us. Be not then imposed upon by smooth words. It is an age of counterfeits. Look not only at what is said, but look for what is suppressed and tacitly dropped out of the Creeds. The rationalism of this day will give you



good words as far as they go, but will empty them of their meaning : it will give as plausible a counterfeit as it can, but *the image and superscription* is its own (Matthew xxii. 20). It will gild its idols for you, if you will accept them for the Living God. It will give you sentiment instead of truth, but as the price at which you are to surrender truth. It will praise Jesus as, (God forgive it!) in fact, an enlightened Jew, a benefactor to mankind ; and it will ask you in exchange, to consent not to say that He was God. It will extol His superiority to Judaism, and include under ' Judaism ' truths of God. It will praise His words as full of truth, and will call them, in a sense, divine truths, and will ask you in exchange, not to say that it is *the* infallible truth. It will say, in its sense, that ' the Bible *contains* the word of God,' and will ask of you to give up your belief that " it *is* the word of God.' It will say, in *its* sense, that the prophets spake by the Holy Ghost, (*i.e.*, as all which is good and true is spoken by inspiration of the Spirit of God,) and will ask of you, in exchange, to drop the words, or at least the meaning, of the Creed, that God the Holy Ghost ' spake by the prophets.' It will say to you, that the prophets were ' elevated by a divine impulsion,' and grant you ' an intensified presentiment,' but only in the sense common to the higher conditions of humanity, even unaided by the Grace of God. It will acknowledge a fallible inspiration, fallible even as to matters of every-day morality, and will ask of you to surrender the belief in the infallible. It will descant on the love of God, if you will surrender your belief in His awful Holiness and Justice ; it will speak with you of Heaven, if you, with it, will suppress the mention of Hell. It will retain the words of revelation, and substitute new meanings, if you will be content with the sound, and will part with the substance of the word of God.

The battle must be fought. It is half-won, when any one has firmly fixed in his mind the first principle, that God is All-Wise and All-Good, and that man's own wisdom, although from God, is no measure for the Wisdom of God, and cannot sound its depth. The criticism of rationalism is but a flimsy transparent veil, which hides from no eyes except its own, (if indeed it *does* hide it altogether from its own,) the real ground of its rebellion, its repugnance to receive a revelation to which it must submit, in order that it may see."



